

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JULY 1945

VOLUME 27

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 16

NUMBER 3

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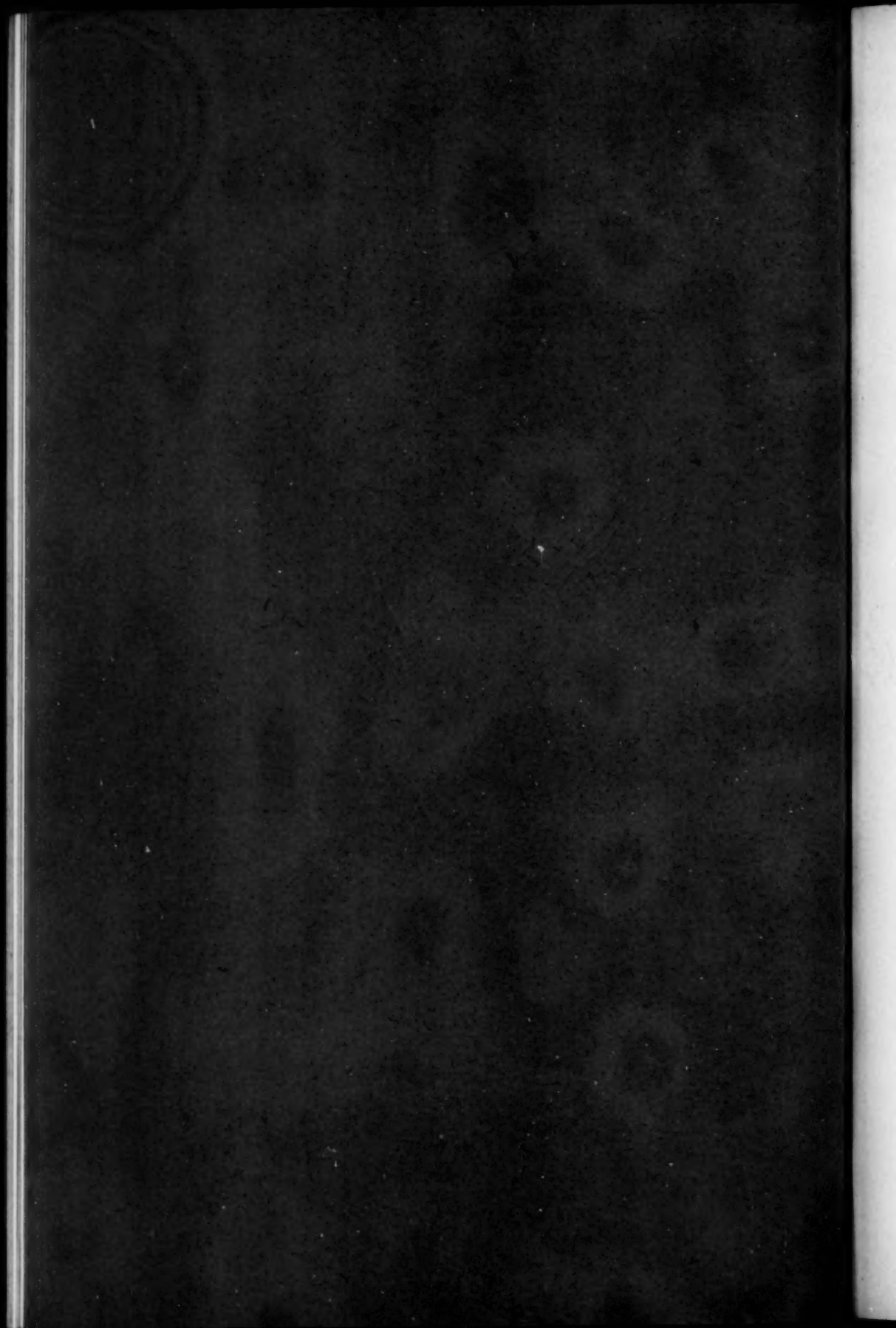
PIMERÍA BAJA

T. B. Trout

ANTOINE LAURET, ALIAS CADILLAC, COMMANDANT AT MICHILIMACKINAC: 1654-1677 (Continued)

J. Delany

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The Relation of Philipp Segesser

Translator's Introduction

Philipp Segesser was born in Luzern, Switzerland, September 1, 1689. He was the third of a long list of seventeen children born to Heinrich Ludwig Segesser and Maria Katharina Rusconi. The elder Segesser was a "senator and provincial governor."

Philipp was admitted into the Society of Jesus in 1708 at Landsberg. There is proof that his entrance took place on October 16, since the Father Rector of Landsberg College, Anthony Kleinbrod, then affirmed his intention of acting as spiritual father for him, inasmuch as Father Kleinbrod calls him "*carissimus* Philipp," that is, by the Latin term of address used for novices. No data are available for the early Jesuit life of Philipp. He was at Luzern College in 1717, very probably teaching, for on April 1 of this year his father offered nine hundred minted guilders to this college on his behalf.

From 1719 to 1722 Segesser was studying theology at Ingolstadt. On June 8, 1721, Trinity Sunday, he celebrated his first Mass, hence he was ordained priest sometime during the preceding week, in all likelihood. The years 1722 to 1723 found him in the ministry in Oettingen. Nothing is recorded of his activities to 1726. In May of this year comes the first hint of his interest in the mission field. A letter dated in Neuburg on the Danube, May 4, expresses hope that God will fulfill his desire to become a missionary. From 1727 to 1729 there are records of brief visits to members of his family, probably in anticipation of his departure to the mission fields. In a letter written in April, 1729, to his brother missionaries in Hochdorf, there is information that his wish to become a missionary had been granted.

The chronology of Segesser's journey from Central Europe to New Spain shows the uncertainty of eighteenth century transportation to the New World. He left Munich in the middle of May, 1729, for Genoa, where he arrived on June 7. Danger of war delayed departure from Genoa until August. A forty day voyage brought him to Cádiz, where the usual ten day quarantine was imposed. He had been seasick during the entire voyage, except when his ship lay at anchor in Toulon. He learned in Cádiz that the Indies fleet had sailed five days before his arrival in Spain.

Segesser remained in Spain for more than a year. November 16, 1730, he sailed from Puerto Santa Maria bound for the West Indies aboard a ship which was transporting the Archbishop of Mexico. The voyage to Havana, via Santo Domingo, took seventy-eight days. He arrived there in early February, probably the second, 1731, and was still there in April, along with more than one hundred other missionaries awaiting ships to the mainland.

We next hear of Segesser's whereabouts from a letter dated June 18, 1731. He was then seven miles beyond Mexico City, en route to the Sonora missions, and he mentions being ill. His travelling companions to Durango were Fathers Ignatius Keller of the Bohemian Province and Kaspar Stiger of the Austrian. At Durango on their arrival, July 19, they were greeted by Bishop Crespo, whose petitions to King Philip V had been instrumental in getting them for the northern missions. Segesser and Keller, now joined by Father John B. Grazhofer, resumed their journey on August 2, with an escort of soldiers.

On October 7, 1731, they arrived at Cuquiarachi, close to which was the Presidio of Fronteras, about thirty miles south of present Douglas, Arizona. Here they met in conference with the older missionaries to decide upon the sites of new missions. After this Segesser went to Mission San Ignacio to learn the language while Grazhofer stayed at Tubutama and Keller at Cucurpe. Segesser travelled north at the end of this year to see San Javier del Bac, though this famed Kino mission of Arizona was not officially established until some time between the middle of May and the middle of June, 1732.

According to the plans three new missions were to be founded, and the official description of how this was done has been published by Dr. George P. Hammond in *The New Mexico Historical Review* for 1929, under the title of "Pimería Alta After Kino's Time." Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza, father of the Anza of California renown, commandant at the Presidio of Fronteras, personally led the expedition of padres, soldiers and Indians, first to Santa María de los Pimas, about ten miles below the present Arizona boundary. Here Keller was installed in April. The second mission was likewise solemnly founded in the valley of the Santa Cruz River. It was situated at Guevavi, a few miles north of the Arizona border and about ten miles northeast of present Nogales. The date was May 4, 1732. Here Father Grazhofer was left, and here he died shortly afterwards of poison. Father Segesser was accompanied to the third of the sites, San Javier del Bac, ten miles south of present Tucson, where there were already many Christians since the time of Kino. Segesser had just begun his organization of the mission and the visitas, when, as he says, he was called to Guevavi. Thenceforward, he labored in many of the northern missions until death took him at Ures on September 28, 1761.

The "Relation of Philipp Segesser" was written by him in his seventh year in the Pimería. It was addressed to his younger brother, Ulrich Franz Josef, and to his uncle, Jost Ranutius, the elder, after having been prepared at the latter's request.

A study of the missionary's report shows it to contain two general kinds of information. The one has to do with Segesser's personal understanding of the natives among whom he worked, with details of his daily life, and

with his somewhat dramatic account of an Indian uprising and its suppression. This section is written in a fairly straightforward narrative style. The other type of information falls into that category referred to as "natural history." Here the relater includes facts and opinions about wild and domesticated plants and animals, metals and mining, weather, and heavenly bodies. These, often listed in the manner of a glossary, were placed by Segesser, or by his relatives, in the middle of his report, so that the continuity of the narrative was interrupted.

The translator has seen fit to combine the narrative portions of the relation into a unit, and to organize the remaining "natural history" sections into an appendix of six parts. Thus, without loss of any content, it is hoped that the continuity and clarity of the narrative will be improved. A word should be said about the translator's point of view on his obligations. Emphasis has been placed upon the retention of Segesser's meaning rather than upon the retention of his style. To retain both were impossible. The padre provides a clue to the problem implied here when he says in his concluding paragraphs: "I close this report with the plea that whoever takes the time to read these hurriedly written lines will forgive my errors and the confusion of this simple presentation. I have in truth almost forgotten my mother tongue, since no one here reminds me of it."

Segesser makes several references in his report to his "homeland" or "fatherland," though it is not always clear whether these words refer to the Germany of 1737 or to Switzerland. However, the "mother tongue" which he had almost forgotten is the German language.

His "Relation" was first published in a *Zeitschrift* entitled *Katholische Schweitzerblätter*, in 1886. It was prefaced with a biographical sketch of the missionary. The editor, probably a relative of the priest, who signs himself as Dr. Ph. A. v. Segesser, was Dr. Philip Anthony von Segesser. The present translation is made from camera negatives secured by the translator in Bonn am Rhine in 1933. There, in the Jesuit college library, through the kindness of the Jesuit historian, Father Alfons Vöth, he was permitted to photograph a number of items, of which the Segesser relation was one. What the fate has been of the *Jesuitenhaus*, or of its occupants, the translator does not know. Even without consideration of the possible results of the war on Bonn, the Segesser report is a rare item.

By chance, the year of the Indian disturbance, 1737, described by Segesser, is a kind of hiatus year in Bancroft's chapters on Sonora.* Hence, it is felt that this document may fill in a few pages of Sonora history, entirely apart from its value as a documentation of a short space of time in the life of a very humble Swiss Jesuit.

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* H. H. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 520-526, 543 n. 49; *Ibid.*, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, San Francisco, 1889, 361-362.

The Relation of Philipp Segesser

The Pimas and Other Indians

Although I have promised so often to send you an extensive description of the people and customs of Upper and Lower Pimería, I have heretofore been unable to do so. My cares have been so numerous and my labors have multiplied so greatly that I have had to perform the task of two or three men.

My superiors ordered me to both Upper and Lower Pimería, first to be missionary at San Xavier del Bac, in Upper Pimería. At that time San Xavier was the most distant and the last mission in this northern American hemisphere and was unoccupied by permanent father missionaries. I might have become the founder of this mission had the superiors permitted me to remain there and put forth the necessary energy to carry further the things which had been begun.

However, I was sent to mission Guebavi because of the death of Father Joannis Bapt. Grashover, from the Austrian province. This father had hardly been in his mission a year when he died in my arms from poison given to him by the Pimas (a fact which they later admitted). His innocent soul was delivered up to his precious Creator.

In mission Guebavi I, too, became ill in a few months, though at San Xavier del Bac I had been as healthy as a fish in water. However, *melior est obedientia quam victima*. [Obedience is better than sacrificial victims.] I became so miserably ill that it was necessary for me to be carried on the shoulders of the Pimas to another mission named Curupe [Cucurpe?], a painful journey which was completed in nine days. I was escorted by Father Ignace Keller, from the Bohemian province, who this year took his four solemn vows. Father Keller was accompanied by some Spaniards who with him placed the sedan chair on their own shoulders at dangerous places so that the incautious though painstaking Pimas would not let me roll down into a gorge. After an illness of five months I returned to Guebavi.

Within three months I was again taken sick, and because I did not have adequate care at Guebavi I was removed by Captain Don Juan de Ansa, who happened to be with me on business, to his presidio. There his wife restored me completely to health with her household remedies. Because of the baneful influence of mission

Guebavi, the Father Visitor called me to Pimería Baja and entrusted to me mission San Francisco Borgia, called Tecoripa, where for three years I have labored in the sweat of my brow in enduring health.

Though I promised an extensive report concerning these people and countries, I am not minded to repeat the abundant writings which the zealous father missionaries have sent from various parts of the world to the dear fatherland. Neither shall I speak about my journey, of which I have already made mention in other letters, nor shall I describe dangers of sea and land, which I would without doubt never have overcome without earnest prayers to the blessed saints. Rather, I shall confine myself to that which is perhaps unique to Pimería, and shall, therefore, begin with the nature of this country.

Mission Tecoripa includes the village of Tecoripa itself, five other villages, and four boroughs inhabited by Spaniards. The boroughs are silver mines in which assemble those who are concerned with mining. The usually numerous miners were really under the jurisdiction of the secular clergyman, but because he was aged and lived far from here he requested me to administer the Holy Sacraments to the needy, which I did with permission of the superiors. The care of souls extends in a circuit of one hundred and fifty miles, two miles being reckoned for one hour. The region is generally rough and includes thorn-covered mountains where it is often impossible for miles at a time to find water. Unbearable heat begins in this region in February and lasts until October. May, June, and July are the hottest months. December is like April in Germany—now rain, now sunshine. The fields become green and the trees bloom at this time.

The Pimas are chestnut-colored. Mestizos of Spanish blood are lighter in color and easily recognizable. Spaniards who grow up in this country and are called creoles, are white like Europeans, though some are sunburnt. The Pimas are particularly careful of their hair which reaches below the waist with most of them. Most Pimas have black hair, but in one village there are some with red hair. One cannot mete out greater punishment to Pimas than to cut their hair. They prefer death to losing it. Some tie up their hair into a knot, others wind it around the head like a turban. On Sundays and Feast Days all come to divine service with hair streaming. They are fond of decorating themselves with shells and beads. Pearls, if they have any, are garnered from them by the Spaniards. The Pimas hang whole clusters of colored rose wreaths about their necks, especially the womenfolk. I have seen a few who bored their noses and ears

through the middle and wore glass things in them. In Pimería Alta they suspend shells, pebbles, and hard wild fruits on the deerskins which they use for clothing themselves. These ornaments make quite a clatter, especially when they dance.

The Pimas of mission Tecoripa are well clothed with cotton and linen. Every year the missionaries buy from three to five thousand dollars worth of these materials and divide them among the Indians. The money is provided by the miners in return for mission field produce. Pimas, as is true of all Indians, like best clothes, ribbons, and braid of red color. Some clothe themselves in red velvet which they procure in trade for horses, mules, and deerskins, or by their labor.

They have a very good ear for music, can sing the Gregorian chant from books, even though they cannot read. They can blow the fagot and play the organ (where there is such). The latter skill they learned from Franciscans who, at times, come to this region to gather alms. That which the Pima sees or hears a single time he can reproduce very shortly better than his master. Though none can read except the choirmaster, yet they can sing the Holy Mass in unison from beginning to end. This they do also with psalms and vespers of various feasts, holding exactly to the time which the choirmaster indicates. After Mass the entire congregation as a choir sings the Christian doctrine, as do the right reverend saintly sisters at St. Anna in the Vale, at Luzern. Whatever they sing or pray the missionary expounds in his sermon. So is it done among the converts in Pimería Baja.

Those who live in Pimería Alta, and for whom I was the first missionary, had remained until my arrival in heathendom and ignorance because, prior to that time, they had not had, so to speak, any illumination from divine law. Some of them were astonished when I would say that they lived about the same way as did the birds of the air, for, in truth, they had no knowledge of God, of Heaven, of Hell, and of other secrets of the true faith. Yet it seems that the light of nature made them aware that there must be a ruler of the world, even though they lived as the dear cattle according to their desires, because they had great hope that their Montesuma would return and would rule them as once he did.

Withal, the Pimas have a notion about the administration of three of the sacraments: baptism, marriage, and penance.

Their baptism is performed as follows. Preceding the baptism a general invitation is issued to the neighboring tribes who then

gather in a clearing and begin the ceremony or *kilbe* in the way described below.

A Pima lights a fire with two little pieces of wood, though not from another fire, because the fire must be a new one (in the same way the Church specifies that fire on Easter Saturday be lighted by flint and tinder). This fire is kindled by placing one rather thick piece of wood on the ground and twirling a longish piece like a distaff between the hands upon it. Twirling is continued until a hole is made and flame finally breaks forth, lighting both little pieces of wood.

While the fire is being kindled a medicine man distributes maize and other grain among the people about him . . . * Later this grain is prepared and eaten in the form of tortillas and pap. Next the master (so I call him who performs this office) places the child on his lap, takes a very sharp thorn with which he then pierces designs above the child's eyes, around the eye sockets, on the eyelids, lips, chin, arms, and chest. Then he rubs in color so that the outlines remain permanent, in the same way that the Jacobin brothers transfer their drawings from Rome or Compostela. It is the medicine man's duty to remove the child's upwelling blood on cloth or fresh linen and to present this cloth to the child. Through these designs the father knows his child and the village its inhabitants, and they take the view that he who is not so marked will not reach Montesuma.

Marriage is arranged as follows. The father of the girl visits the father of the boy whom his daughter wishes to marry. They then consider the matter, as do Spaniards when they wish to arrange for the marriage of their children. If agreement is reached, they invite their friends to a dance. Here they gather together a large quantity of cloth and matting and enough maize and fruits to last overnight. Then the girls and women begin to dance. On the backs of the dancers are baskets into which the bride and groom throw certain objects, and later they begin the meal with half a roasted ox. When the meal is ended the elder makes a wise speech, instructing the bride and groom how they should live together. They lack nothing but the authority of the Church to unite them properly. On occasions they let three girls dance and the one that has the most endurance is taken home by the groom. Such dances sometimes continue through the night without cessation.

* This distribution is accomplished, says Segesser, "gleich der bruder Fritsche die nuss an dem schmutzigen Donstag." Literally translated: ". . . in the same manner that brother Fritsche distributes nuts on dirty Thursday." This may have reference to a European village ceremony on Maundy Thursday.

I now speak of [their idea of] the sacrament of confession and absolution of sins. Sometimes a Pima lives with other wives than the one he has married in the manner just described. (This often happened in Pimería Alta.) When I confronted them with this violation they answered: "Don't you see that the rooster has more than one hen, a stallion more than one mare? And you say that we shouldn't have more than one wife!" In such event they hold a council on the petition of the married wife. They summon the adulterer, order him to kneel in the center of a circle, charge him with his evil conduct—although most of those present are just as blameworthy—and the oldest woman present beats the back of the accused several times with a spear shaft, with the injunction that for the future he remain free from sin.

From this it is to be concluded that the light of nature suggests to the Pimas that they should live differently from their animal like existence, although, as I have said, they have not the faintest thought or knowledge of God, of Heaven, of Hell, or of Salvation. A very old Pima at San Xavier del Bac came every day to visit me, sat at my doorstep and waited until I gave him food, which food provided him, as I hoped, with the bread of eternal life. To him I explained the Omnipotence of God and how He had created everything. Since *omnipotence* is translated in the Pima language by the word *apertumaca* (to the extent that it is explainable in the Pima language) he kept repeating continually, walking or sitting as he greeted me, the word, *apertumaca*, and finally said that he wished to see this omnipotence. So he brought his two grown sons to me that I might baptize them with him.

The Pimas are very generous, share everything, and own everything in common, even their clothing. When one is having a meal and has not enough even for himself and another comes along, the visitor nevertheless gets half share. While I was away from mission San Xavier del Bac for some weeks to nurse the sick Father Augustin, a Pima harvested thirty malters of wheat. After my return I wished to buy from him a part of the harvest but he explained that he had none left for himself and had to get his nourishment from wild roots. Friends and neighbors had relieved him of the harvest. That which they have they eat in a day, and they observe very exactly *nolite esse solliciti in crastinum*, [not to be worried about tomorrow]. Apart from this they are overbearing and are easily vexed if they are not given praise.

Cleanliness is not found among them, rather the opposite. When a cow is slaughtered they besmear themselves completely with

its blood. Others paint themselves with yellow, red, or white paint so that they more resemble spectres than human beings. They paint themselves in this way especially when they dance. Dances occur in Upper Pimería every night, accompanied by singing or yowling with no articulated words, until the father rings *satis* ["enough!"] with the church bell. The nightly dances make most Pimas lazy and inactive and they lounge about unless the father drives them to work like donkeys, whereas other Indians like the Opatas and Yaquis are very little behind the Spanish people in industry and at times even excell them in diligence and skill.

Notwithstanding all this, there are those among the Pimas who are very skillful and who fabricate things of fibers, straw, cotton, and other material in a way that moves Europeans to wonderment. So, for example, they make black and white fiber baskets covered with all kinds of figures, and woven tightly enough that they are water-tight and water can be stored in them as in a cask. They know how to make wool and cotton sashes which are as pretty as costly ones. These they bind about their bodies and heads. Also they make cotton tablecloths and other things which are only a little inferior to those made in my fatherland. What they see they imitate, insofar as they are ordered to do so. If one asks them to make something one receives the invariable reply that they do not know how, but if one orders them to make something they make it, because what the Pima has once seen made, he can imitate.

In Pimería there are two types of houses. Some are earthen, like mine, and I maintain that a better type of house cannot be found in all Sonora. It is true that the manner in which earthen houses are made here has already been described by other padres. It is as follows. Good earth is dug up, and then doused with water. Then the Indians tread this mass the way the brickmaker does his lime, throw chopped straw into it, and mix everything well. Then the mass is tightly pressed into a wooden form like the iron form used by bricklayers, and the thick bricks (which are about two fingers thick and two and one half spans in length) are allowed to dry on the earth until they become hard.

These bricks, which we call *adobes*, are made into walls, layers of bricks being covered with layers of mud instead of with lime plaster. The walls become so hard that it is almost impossible to break them. The thickness of the wall is regulated by the number of workmen one has or by what kind of wall is desired. In my house the walls are two ells thick; the church walls have a thickness

of two and one-half ells because the church wall is higher and supports heavier rafters.

The absence of stone houses in these regions is not explained by a lack of stones or lime, but by the shortage of masons. In Puebla de los Angeles, in Mexico, Guadiana, Chihuahua, one certainly sees nicely built European type houses. But here a master builder costs eight dollars, an assistant three dollars [per day?]. (This was the same wage as was paid in Puerto S. María in Spain, where during my stay a house was being built for missionaries going to the Indies. The cost of all laborers may be noted from the fact that I had to pay tailoring costs of three dollars for a shirt, three dollars for trousers, five dollars for a cloak, and withal the masters do not get particularly rich.) Up to now I have seen in this region only one two story house. The rest have only a ground floor, partly because of the great heat, partly because of the scarcity of building masters who would know how to make higher structures.

The rafters are placed in a horizontal position. In my house, however, I made the roof somewhat sloping, the better to shed water. After the timbers are put in place it is necessary to join them. Since there are as yet no sawmills here the boards must be sawed by hand to be fitted, and what fearful toil that is! Upon these boards, or lacking them, upon the rafters, are laid covers of reeds, palms, or straw. These covers must be well plaited so that water does not penetrate. Next comes a layer of hair or straw, half an ell thick, and finally a sprinkling of earth. Everything must be very substantially made otherwise the walls dissolve in a short time. This, then, is the construction of earthen houses (that is, *adobes*).

Other people, usually Indians and Pimas, make their houses of plaited mats, in the style of beehives. These have little entrances through which the missionary must crawl on all fours when he comes to hear the confession of the sick. The straw huts have a single living room where father, mother, children, dog, cat, and chickens live together, and in which fire is built. It is no wonder, therefore, that houses often go up in flames.

To change the location of a house, eight or twelve Indians (according to the size of the house) carry it elsewhere on their shoulders. Straw houses are less pervious to water than are adobes. They are also very warm in winter. Winter warmth is required by the Indians who are sensitive to cold. In summer, when Europeans suffer under the heat of the sun, Indians and Pimas sit around a fire and warm themselves. They can do this because they are insensible to heat, being children of the warmth and sunlight in which they

are born. But they are very sensitive to cold to which Europeans, especially those who come from Germany, are inured.

Now I must mention one evil habit of the Pimas. It is a very common thing among them for a husband to lend his wife to someone else for a while, if in return he receives a horse or a piece of cloth. Withal, they love their children as do monkeys their young; the livelong day mothers have no more important occupation than that of catching the children's lice, which they do not kill and throw away but bite and then eat. When I asked them why they did this they asked me whether I hadn't noticed that hens also eat their lice.

The usual fare of the Pimas is maize. Missionaries derive the greater part of their income, with which they meet necessary expenses, from raising this crop. The missionary who has the largest harvest is also in the best position to take care of church decorations and clothing for his people. Wheat also is planted in many places in the province of Sonora. Because I was in a very dry section where it hardly rained at all last year (1736), I harvested no maize. This circumstance was most unfortunate for me this year. Besides maize, the Pimas use wheat, pease, and various abundant herbs for nourishment.

They make particular use of *mescal*, the root of a stomach-soothing herb. In Ingolstadt, mescal is called *aloe*, although it is actually not aloe, as I will explain elsewhere.* After the root is dug, fire is built in a trench and stones are heated therein. Mescal roots are then spread upon the red-hot stones. When the roots are roasted to a yellow color they are ground between stones into a porridge which is as sweet as honey.

A very good brandy is made from cooked or roasted mescal. The late Bishop of Guadiana, my very great benefactor, Benedictus Cespo [Benito Crespo] forbade the making of this brandy because the Pimas get drunk on it. Drunkenness has led to deaths. Despite the prohibition he permitted the drawing off of several bottles because when the beverage is used in moderation it has healing qualities.

In the mountains there are many edible fruits which serve the Pimas when they are unable to get grain. Among such fruits is the *Pitaia* [sic].† This has an exceptional flavor, is covered with thorns like the chestnut, is blood-red in color within, and contains little black seeds, like the fig. The Pimas make pitahaya wine which is pleasant to drink but is intoxicating. When I was in Guebavi I once

* See below, Appendix 1.

† See below, p. 180.

ordered that the Pimas of village Sonoita (which belonged to my mission) should come to Guebavi on a certain day to clear my acres and uproot thorn-bushes. The magistrate, as I call the chief among them, agreed that on this day they would first clear the acres at their village (acres which were already planted) and would then come to Guebavi.

On the appointed day, accompanied only by a boy, I rode to the two hour distant village. There I found my gardner lying on the ground drunk. Only with difficulty did I learn from him that a drinking bout was in progress at the house of the magistrate. I proceeded there immediately. When I was still a bow-shot distant from the house I was discovered, and the magistrate came toward me and invited me to have a little drink.

I asked him whether the field had been cleared, and whether they were going to keep their word to their father missionary. To this he answered: 'Father, what do you say! Taste the wine, how sweet it is. It is certainly a fine drink.' Thereupon some Indians brought a gourd dish filled with wine, to propitiate me. Since I wished to have nothing to do with the intoxicated Pimas, I sat cautiously to horse so as to be ready any instant for flight. Thereupon the magistrate called his companions to greet me, according to the custom of the region. Then one should have seen the capers they cut! Some, who could not even walk on their quaking knees, were dragged up by the others, and all shouted very tearfully: "Father, the drink is good! Get off your horse and join us, the wine is good!"

I did not consider it advisable to tarry longer with those drunkards. So although I could hardly contain my laughter I turned to the magistrate and said, very earnestly, "Tomorrow, we will look into the matter." Then I returned quickly to my house. On the occasion of a similar drinking-bout these Pimas killed one of my servants who was supposed to guard some horses. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the bishop has threatened with excommunication those who give assent to such drinking-bouts.

The Pimas make wine also with the mulberry which grows plentifully in Pimería Alta. I used mulberries and mescal for the preparation of a very good vinegar.

The Papagos are Indians who live near the Pimas and who work with the latter. Papagos eat horsemeat when they can get it. They, as well as the Pimas, also eat mice and even poisonous snakes without injury to themselves. They cook or roast these animals in fire and they maintain that the fire removes all poison. I myself have seen roasted mice and boiled snakes. They will not, however, eat

dog or chicken meat or any foods cooked in the Spanish style. Birds, which are very numerous, are shot by them with arrows, but not for eating purposes. Rather, they are hunted for their feathers with which the Indians decorate themselves.

Posoli is the name of the dish which is given to the Indians when they work on church fields. With this field produce the missionary pays for wax candles, wine for mass, church ornaments, and his own household. In the early morning the Indians are given a porridge made of unsalted maize flour and milk. When the work is done they get *posoli*, which is maize or wheat flour cooked in a kettle with ox-flesh. It is said of the California Indians that they will not come to religious instruction unless *posoli* is promised them.

To the missionaries the Indians' work is very necessary for raising crops used in defraying the expenses of divine service which is celebrated here with no less splendor than it is in Europe. My neighbor missionary burned one hundred and twenty-five pounds of white wax during the feasts. I am hard put to it to make both ends meet, notwithstanding which my church is as well decorated as is the high altar of the college church at Luzern on Easter Sunday. Here one candle of yellow wax costs a Spanish dollar.

The Pimas like nothing better than tobacco and sweets. For a pipe full of tobacco a Pima will work gladly all day. In my opinion one could convert all the Indies with tobacco. This year I used more than one hundred-weight and for this I spent one hundred and forty Spanish dollars. I wished to buy the same quantity for next year but the merchants brought none, which is a great lack. In these regions everyone uses tobacco, and because they see that I do not they say that I am a saint, which would certainly be an easily attained state of holiness.

Some Indians imbibe tobacco from pipes, as it is done in Germany. Others smoke long sticks of tobacco leaves rolled together. Still others pulverize the tobacco and pack it in little paper tubes which they light. Those who cannot afford paper use tender maize leaves instead.

The Pimas must be kept in bounds through fear and love. Neither great severity nor great liberality lead to the desired end—*medium tenuere beati*. Among the errors of the Pimas not the least is their unfaithful and thievish manner. Associated with this is their habit of lying. Even in unimportant matters the Pima will rarely speak the truth, and what he can seize without fear of discovery, he takes, especially foodstuffs, ribbons, string, and the like. However,

sugar or a piece of silver are as safe as though they were kept under ten locks, even if left openly on the table.*

No Pima will admit theft unless he is caught in the act. An example of this statement follows. For five months I collected not a single egg from my hens, although I had more than fifty of them (at times as many as two hundred), and I could not understand what was wrong. I believed that a conjurer must be up to his tricks, or that a concealed animal or snake was devouring the eggs. I also examined the wall from top to bottom, and ordered the houseboys to keep a watch for the egg thief, because it was unbelievable to me that my hens did not lay. Finally one of the boys brought me the skin of the snake which was (supposedly) eating the eggs.

To get on the track of the matter I secretly secured two eggs which I placed in the chicken coop. Then I tied the coop door so that it could not be opened without my knowing it. After lunch I looked to see if the snake had eaten the eggs. I found that the rope which had secured the door was out of place. I asked: "Who went to the hen-house during mealtime?" No one. We looked for the eggs and, behold, they were gone! Then I questioned all the boys as to which of them had gone to the chicken coop during mealtime, threatening them with the switch to bring forth the truth.

Thereupon one of them admitted he had seen the culprit. I then called the accused and asked him if it was true that he had entered the chicken coop. Upon his denial I confronted him with his accuser, but he still did not wish to admit the charge. Hence, I found it necessary to bring out the truth with lashes and, lo, hardly had he felt the weight of the Sirtux [*sic*] when he admitted having taken the eggs and having fried and eaten them in the bushes back of the house. I then asked further how often this had happened and if he had ever had partners in crime. Again he did not wish to confess, and a second salving had to ease the way. Then he confessed that his accuser and all the rest of the houseboys would get up during my rest hour, collect the eggs, cook them in the kitchen, and eat them. All had heard me make inquiry for five whole months and none had told me the truth until I had caught him.

Thus are constituted all Pimas. The worst of the matter was that two boys got sick from these hard boiled eggs. Their bellies swelled up without my knowing the cause thereof. Both of them died. I never again had a shortage of eggs after my discovery of how they had disappeared.

* See above, p. 151, for reference to the Pimas' love of 'sweets.' Apparently Segesser distinguishes between 'sweets' and 'sugar.'

Abduction is not unusual among the Indians, especially among Apaches, though it is found among Pimas and Opatas as well. The Opatas and Pimas are neighbors, but their languages differ. The Apaches, a savage and untamed people, live in the high hills towards the north, and are sworn enemies of the converted Pimas and Opatas. They busy themselves mainly with stealing, robbing, and murdering. They lie in ambush in narrow passes, allow travelers to reach the middle of a pass, then attack them from above with a hail of arrows. They are very cunning and active and murder people in the most gruesome manner if they cannot carry them off alive. To check them the king of Spain ordered a fortress built on their border. Since they are very numerous and the soldiers are, on the other hand, few, the latter cannot offer resistance everywhere.

Apaches are large of body. They carry bows and arrows as well as lances. The lances are usually taken from Spaniards. While I was at the fortress I saw some Apaches who were armed with such lances. A short time ago Apaches came to the fortress (where I had earlier recovered my health) to see Captain Don Juan Bautista da Ansa [*sic*]. The reason they gave for visiting the captain was a desire to make peace with the Spaniards. As an indication of their peaceful intentions they brought with them a cross. They invited the captain to accompany them to a council, where they wished to swear allegiance to him. But the captain refused not only because he was unwell at the time but also because their proposal seemed to him dangerous.

Thus it happened that a visiting Spaniard resolved to go in place of the captain. He stuck to his resolve despite all dissuasion, for he wished to have the honor of winning these barbarians to Christianity. He, with a few soldiers, went with the Apache delegates to the council place where they were apparently received in a friendly fashion. When they carelessly dismounted, however, the savages seized the Spaniard and cut him to pieces and injured the soldiers with arrow shots so that those who got away returned in a pitiable condition. Simultaneously, other swarms of Apaches descended from their mountains and drove away more than three hundred horses from two missions, Arispe and Cuquiarachi.

Generally they attack Spanish villages during divine service, mostly during Passion Week, and usually more often during the winter than in the summer season. In winter the nights are long and the Apaches like to march in the moonlight. During the summer the Apaches usually hunt for food. When the Bishop of Durango, D. Benedito Cespo [*sic*], travelled through New Mexico

visiting his diocese, the Apaches, concealed in high grass, approached unnoticed, suddenly frightened the pack animals and horses, and killed many of the animals with arrows. The bishop himself, through whose coach five arrows had passed, was barely able with his servants to escape with his life, as he himself told me. It is unbelievable what numbers of cattle and horses these Apaches steal annually and how unsafe they make the roads, and how many murders they commit. The entrance to their region, it is said, is so narrow, that there is hardly room for men to enter it single file.

Besides the Apaches, there are to the west still other barbaric enemies, the Seris. Some Seri villages have, however, accepted the Christian doctrine. When the Seris rebel they are more cruel than the Apaches. They spare no one and burn and destroy everything. All of these enemies give the captains and soldiers enough to do. Many soldiers are killed. I myself have often travelled through the lands of these savages and have not, God be praised, been subjected to dangers either by Seris or Apaches. Those whom I met were friendly. At certain times the Pimas take the field against both these enemies and steal their children. These they generally sell for three hundred Spanish dollars. As soon as such children are married, however, they are free, and the purchaser has no further right over them. In Guebavi I was presented with the gift of an Apache youth who, during my illness, had been brought from a distant region by some Spaniards.

The Mokis [*sic*] border on the Apaches. Down to the present time they have not subjected themselves to the Spanish king. About them I have positive information that they are very rational, conduct themselves well, (even pursue *studia litteraria*), engage in agriculture, but are idolatrous and worship idols. The Franciscans have already several times sought entrance into the Moqui country, but until now have found the gate locked. It is said that the Moquis want no other padres than "those with black horns." Our padres have not entered this region hitherto because of the prohibition of the bishop and the viceroy. It is proposed to proceed gradually, not in leaps. Furthermore, the number of padres is so small that they can hardly uphold the light of the faith among the converted folk. The father missionary can not go according to his desires where he will, and one must form a different impression of his office than I, and others, erroneously had, as we shall shortly see.

Another tribe which really belongs to the Pimas but which is farther distant calls itself Copamaricopa [*sic*]. Many of these are baptized because they bring their children to the missions when they

come to work. They live, however, as though they were not baptized, which is to be understood because during the entire year they are so far from the missions that they could hardly travel to the padre in a month's time. The Copamaricopas have brought tidings about people on the other side of the Red River (Río Colorado) who are entirely white like Spaniards. One speculates that these were carried there from other parts of the world in storm-driven ships.

If other things are true which these wild Pimas tell, there are supposed to be seen in this same region people who have only one leg and who are yet able to walk as rapidly as people with two. This was told me as truth by the old padre, Augustín de Campos.* In time, if God keeps me, better information can be given about such matters, since preparations are being made just at present to explore these regions and to see if this part of the earth is bordered by sea or by more land, a fact not yet known.

Among the Pimas there are two kinds of sorcerers. The one kind are simple conjurers who perform dances and mimicry, imitate animals, and also present the royal dance which in olden times virgins had to present before the above-named Mexican king, Montezuma, which was a sight worth seeing.

Besides these conjurers there are in this country many witch doctors (*hechicheros*) who cause much damage with their deceptions and who communicate with the devil. At first I did not believe until I saw and heard for myself how, unnoticed, these knaves blow with a quill the poison which the foul fiend has poured into their bodies into the mouths of someone whom they wish to harm. The victim then dies quickly in extraordinary pain. I myself have stood at the death bed of some and have seen how they vomitted forth a horrible white stuff. This was the poison which they had received.

When I was at San Ignacio it happened that two servants of Father Augustín de Campos abruptly took sick and I, not knowing the cause of their sickness, administered extreme unction. But then the rumor started that a certain Francisco had earlier quarrelled with them and had positively done them this evil. The old padre ordered that he should be brought in and if he would not confess, to bring forth the truth with lashes. Thereupon the said Francisco admitted that because of the quarrel which had occurred he had administered the poison. The old padre ordered him to accompany the judges to the persons and to remove the poison from their bodies. So it

* Campos had slipped mentally at this time; cf P. M. Dunne, "Captain Anza and the Case of Father Campos," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIII (Jan. 1941), 45-61.

was done, and the village judges brought on a piece of wood, as I myself saw, the poison that the wicked villain had drawn out of the bodies of the sick. The old father asked if he had withdrawn all of the poison, to which he answered yes, though he could not say whether the poison had already attacked the intestines. Both the sick ones quickly recovered. A similar thing occurred with Father Kaspar Stiger, as he wrote me.

About myself I do not wish to speak in this report, because my younger brother shrewdly remonstrated with me on this matter, saying that my deadly sickness could have been caused by the climate or by a change in the air. Yet during the time I was asleep the judges, unknown to me, brought to my bedside a sorcerer who took a thing like a pea out of my mouth, after which I was improved. At the mission of Father Augustín de Campos, deciding to end a rumor, I climbed a high mountain with one of these sorcerers to see a cave where, according to the sorcerer, the evil spirit distributed those things by which people and cattle were murdered. I found nothing, however. The sorcerer said that the devil had become frightened and had taken everything away with him. Only a little white skin remained there. The sorcerer said this was the devil's skin, but I considered it to be the skin of a bird.

When we returned, the old padre asked the sorcerer to explain why he was so deceitful. However, the sorcerer maintained that what he had said was the truth, and to prove it he would tell the father, with his permission, what the devil had revealed to him on the previous night. After permission was granted he told the father things which no human being could have known, as the padre himself assured me. Such experiences as this one made me more careful in my dealings with the Indians.

Nocturnal dances are the reason for the many sorcerers. Indians take their children to these dances so that they see and hear with better opportunity what no eye should see and no ear should hear. When I was at San Xavier del Bac I took a walk with an Indian. We happened upon a place where the Indians had held a nocturnal dance. The place was full of circles, like a labyrinth, and my guide showed me, upon my inquiry, the spot where the devil in very terrible shape entered the circle, the Indians or Pimas then having to follow him into it. He also showed me where the devil again stepped out of the circle. I well perceived the great harm done by these nocturnal dances, but could not forbid everything lest the people flee into the mountains and wilderness. When I said that I did not want them to dance they asked me why I wished to forbid

dancing. In other missions where they performed labor, they said, the missionary allowed them to dance. They told me that if I forbade dancing they would return to their wilds where they could dance undisturbed. One must deal circumspectly with these people, therefore, if one does not wish to lose everything.

On another occasion I was told by the same guide at San Xavier del Bac that there frequently appeared among them a person whom they did not know and who was dressed like a Spaniard. He incited them to carry on with their nocturnal festivals. Who could this stranger be but the Evil One who mingles with them so as to maintain his kingdom and so as to hold the artless Pimas in their ignorance? This is also the reason why he orders sorcerers to murder missionaries and thus get them out of the way, as was confessed by the one who poisoned Father Stiger. The sorcerer later removed the poison from the father, who then recovered.

Special dances are participated in by the Pimas, usually by the women, when the men have returned from a campaign against the Apaches and have brought back booty. After campaigns they always return with such tokens of victory as the hair, hands, and feet of those they have killed. The women hoist these tokens on long poles when dancing the war dance. Then they carry the poles from house to house so that one will give them donations (in the manner of house to house visits made by European jesters on old Shrove Tuesday). One learns from captives that the Apaches also perform such dances when they overcome the Pimas. These jubilees sweep through all Pimería like wild-fire because a victory is communicated with unbelievable rapidity by the Indians of all tribes.

I have spoken figuratively of wild-fire. However, in this country there occur real wild-fires. The grass here is never mowed, one reason being that it need not be stored for the winter. Real, lasting winters are unknown. High grass is sun-dried down to the roots and when the Pimas skirmish with enemies in the mountains and light the grass, wind carries the fire along unchecked until it reaches any large brook, when it is extinguished. Such conflagrations cause great damage to the country, destroying cattle pastures, and so on. The Pimas also customarily start such fires to corner game, although this practice is prohibited and is heavily punished.

It is another matter when dry grass is intentionally set afire immediately before the rainy season. Then, because of the rain, large quantities of young tender grass sprouts forth from the ashes. Then cattle find their paradise and grow fat. This fattening is necessary since here we have no butter and one must, therefore, use dried

animal fat (instead of butter) in cookery the year throughout, even on Fridays and Saturdays. If Pimas and also Spaniards knew how to make regular butter they would have many more cattle. That is, they would have to slaughter fewer of them. Perhaps I can now teach them the art of butter making with the apparatus which has been sent to me.

Above, I said that the Pimas are very generous and prove themselves charitable toward their countrymen and Spaniards. Therefore, it is astonishing that they forget this love just when it is the most needed. If one of them is taken sick they set next to him a receptacle of water and another containing maize porridge. Then they immediately depart from the house and leave him lying alone on a cover.

None takes the responsibility of visiting the sick one or in any way waiting upon him. At the most, they remind the missionary to come to hear confession. Since they usually neglect this also, the missionary commissions one or two so-called *fiscals* who look after the houses and inform him of cases of sickness. If the sick person dies the fiscal brings his body to church on a horse. The deceased is unaccompanied by his relatives who also do not appear at any Christian service. The relatives immediately burn the house of the deceased. If the chief of a village dies he is buried in the center of the village and the village is then deserted en masse.

When I was at San Xavier del Bac I went to visit some parishioners in a village named Tubac, but found several houses burned and others empty. I could not understand why no one had called me to visit a sick person. After much searching I finally found the inhabitants in another place where they had put up their huts. They explained to me that their magistrate had died and that in fear they had moved away. This is sometimes done even by Spaniards and creoles who no longer wish to live in a house where someone has died.

The Pimas, even converts, place food on the graves of their dead in the belief that the deceased will eat in the other world. Also they cover their own faces with a finger-thick layer of porridge, so that only the mouth and the eyes are exposed. Finally, for half a year up to an entire year they raise a horrible wailing plaint three times a night.* They liberate the horse which has carried the deceased to the grave. The magistrate of Sonoita was carried to his grave on a horse which I liked very much and desired for myself,

* "... erheben sie ein halbes oder ganzes Jahr lang dreimal während der Nacht ein entsetzliches Klagegeschrei."

but they did not wish to give it to me, rather they wished to set it free. The dead are not buried in a coffin but are interred wrapped in several covers. Deceased children, who this year died almost entirely of malicious pustules, are decorated with expensive silk stuffs and ribbons, which missionaries give to Indians, but which Spaniards provide for themselves.

Although the father missionary must also bury Spaniards and must administer the last sacrament to adults within a distance of thirty miles, the pastor, who doesn't lift a finger, still collects his dues from the Spaniards. In order that the worthy pastors in the homeland shall have an understanding of the emoluments of Sonora and Pimería pastors, I will set forth some taxes.

When a Spaniard's servant marries, the servant must pay the pastor (even when I perform the function) twenty-four and one half Spanish dollars. A common free man pays thirty dollars; a wealthy one, forty-five Spanish dollars. From the most wealthy the pastor demands as much as seems proper—whether it be for marriage or burial. The burial of an Indian, either adult or child, costs sixteen and one half dollars, provided that the large cross not be carried in the forefront of the procession. Cost of carrying the cross is twenty-five Spanish dollars. Burial of a Spaniard costs thirty dollars, not counting Mass [stipend] and offices for the soul. From all this nothing remains for the missionary, although he takes care of everything and the pastor does nothing. The rule for the missionary is *omnia gratis*.

The Missionary's Daily Routine

To satisfy the curiosity of some who wish to know how the missionary must perform his many tasks and duties, I will here say something about this.

I remember that my most highly esteemed brother said before my departure: "My brother will soon become a pastor in the Indies." I must admit that he spoke the truth, because with some differences the life of the American missionary is almost like the life of a European pastor. Hearing confession, preaching, reading Mass, administering sacraments, all these are performed by the one as they are by the other.

However, the American missionary must journey twenty or thirty miles on horseback over roads which the European pastor can travel on foot. The latter can retire for his night's rest in a bed, after having partaken of a good roast and a glass of sweet wine; the

former must find his rest after one swallow of water dipped from any lake, or when in the field must do without. The latter can take care of his household business in comfort with his friends or other reasonable people; the former has for this his careless Indian youths and must lay his own hand to the plow if he wishes to get anything for himself and his Indians. The European pastor has his rich income. The American missionary must live by his avowed poverty and must say his prayers by candlelight.

Every day I must awaken the houseboys and supervise the morning prayer, because the Pima is so careless that he no longer knows on one day what he was ordered to do the day before. For that reason an old father missionary in Puebla de los Angeles said to me jestingly during my journey to Mexico: "Since the Pope ordered one to believe that the Indians have a rational soul, one would have to believe it; but one had not seen it."

After the morning prayer a bell is rung as a signal for Mass, the choir master prays the rosary with the people and afterwards sings the All Saints Litany. Besides the prayers which the Indians say in their own languages, the king and the superiors of the Order have directed that the Indians learn also in Spanish the Christian doctrine and the necessary prayers. The missionary must, therefore, know Spanish. A knowledge of Spanish is also required of the missionary so that he may hear confession of the many Spaniards settled in this country. With Spanish, the missionary may also do business with the merchants of this nation. Some missionaries who were with me in Spain wished to learn no other language than that of the Indians to whom they were designated. Thus, they hoped to avoid having traffic with Spaniards so as to prevent making the Indians suspicious. But a difference must be made between necessary and superfluous intercourse. The latter is at all times to the bad, for, despite excellent royal decrees, there are Spaniards of evil disposition who do great harm to the missionaries.

After Mass the Christian doctrine is prayed or sung, although if there is pressing work to be done the latter is sometimes omitted. Afterwards the father and his ever-present guests partake of a breakfast of chocolate. In this mission much chocolate is used because of the many guests who frequent the mission. Three hundred pounds hardly last through the year, and what a quantity of sugar is used for it! In Pimería Alta I used hardly any chocolate. Here, however, I can say truly that during the three years of my residence I have not been five days without guests. Each one brings a greeting or a letter from someone else, even if the latter at times does not

know anything about it. But each guest expects his chocolate anyway.

After breakfast the father has to give the cook his directions for the mid-day meal and must provide him with the wherewithal for it from the storehouse. To give the cook the keys to the storehouse would mean, according to the Pima custom, to give him leave to eat everything available, and all at one time. An entire ox seems meager fare for a three or four day period for my Pimas, although there are only about twenty-four who sit at table. For the guests there are chicken and veal, if such be available.

The houseboys have to take care of feeding the hens, ducks, and geese. The housemaster is supposed to provide wheat for the feeding, but since he is often not at his post the padre has to take care of this business himself. The padre must also give the gardener his orders for gathering in the produce and must direct the herds-men to care for the stock. Meanwhile, he may get a report that there are children standing at the church door waiting to be baptized, that a magistrate has made a request for seed maize, or that someone is ill or dying. And so it goes the livelong day.

Besides spiritual duties the missionary has continually to take care of worldly business which he by no means dare neglect. I have already said above that the California Indians do not come to Christian service when they do not see the maize pot boiling. And so it is in all missions. Where there is no bread the children do not appear. Therefore, the missionary must above all things provide meals, for then the Indians gather around and then he can achieve the desired results with them. Providing food for the Indians seems very laborious to many fathers for they had an entirely different view of things when they left their beloved province to devote themselves to missionary work. That is the way it was with me. I well remember what was said to me and to others by the father provincial when I made a request to be sent to the missions. His words were: *Nescitis quid petatis*. [You know not what you ask.] I experienced it!

It happens that I left my paternal hearth to enter a spiritual station principally because I saw that business and agriculture were not for me, but in this mission I encountered much more of that sort of anxiety than I would ever have had in my fatherland. However, it must be considered that God ordained such difficulties so that He could express His divine will through His servants. He does not fail to extend His divine grace in support of the missionary, so that the latter takes on work and consolation and recognizes in

himself God's providence. Otherwise it were almost humanly impossible for a person to endure all the pain and labor needed in the management of these missions (more in some than in others, to be sure, though all missionaries are busy enough).

Thus there remains little time to the father missionary for the performance of his spiritual labors (unless we wish to say that the entire day is spent in spiritual business, even though it may be temporal). In order to write these fugitive lines—as I promised to do—I had to set aside other business with which I will, however, immediately catch up.

In the meantime, we shall view further how the daily order or, better said, disorder, is carried on. Let us imagine that the above-mentioned business has been attended to and that I think I have earned an opportunity to say my horary prayers. Along comes the cook and demands pepper, ginger, and safron. The house servant announces that two messengers have arrived, one from Saguaripa, the other from Ures, each with a letter. I order that for the time being they be fed and promise to give them tobacco when I have finished my prayers. Then the cook comes once more and asks for lard and eggs which he had earlier forgotten to request. While I say my prayers the houseboys set the table for luncheon. Again much is forgotten. Now knives, and at other times forks, are not placed.

Spaniards use neither forks nor knives but eat with their fingers. Some even do not use soup-spoons but soak up the soup with bread. In my house, however, I maintain order. It is enough that I must stand for the Spanish method of preparing food. To one who was used to a good Tyrolean, Neckar, or Alsatian wine, it is a great disappointment never to find dry table wine. Perforce one must be satisfied with the water jug and must even thank God that the water is fresh and plentiful, which often it is not. It is satisfying that there is always milk to be had at the end of the meal. I had thought that only the Swiss drink milk, but have learned that in this country Spaniards like it just as much.*

After luncheon prayers are said. Then the cook is given directions to send food to the homes of the sick. He is instructed not to leave the dishes with them. Dishes must be returned at once to be washed and dried.

Then the father goes to the chicken-coop with the houseboys

* See below, Appendix 4.

to gather eggs, and to see whether a bird of prey has carried away any hens.

Now comes the siesta, the time when it is customary here for everyone to take his afternoon repose, except the father who uses this most quiet hour of the day to write or read whatever seems necessary. Birds also sleep during siesta. When they awaken the turmoil begins again. Then the cook demands meat for the evening meal, the *fiscus* requests maize for *posoli*, and the baker flour for baking. And finally, after instruction in the catechism (held every day except Sunday), it is necessary that the father go, shovel in hand, to the garden and work there until the Ave Maria chime so that things do not go to ruin. Then when one returns home tired out the servants are assembled to pray the rosary, the Litany, the Salve Regina (which I have taught them to sing as we do), as well as the *Alabado* [*alabado*] or "praise be the all holiest altar sacrament."

Evening meal follows the prayers, after which I record the day's sales and purchases, supplies used, and any noteworthy occurrences. All these items are recorded in special books so that no shortages will be found at the customary visitation of the superiors. When all these things have been attended to the rest hour at last arrives for the missionary. During this time he is somewhat in communion with God, and expects throughout the night to be called to a sick-bed.

This is the schedule which remained the same from the first moment of my arrival here until the present, and it will remain this way until God bestows better understanding upon the Pimas so that they will take hold of things tolerably well without being admonished and ordered to do so. They do nothing for the church and for the house of the missionary without receiving an order. Unless directed to do so, they would not even feed or water a tethered horse or mule. Their attitude is the more noteworthy because they are able and mindful in their own affairs. Today on the feast of St. Jacob, when I think especially of my father professor, Jacob Begler, I ordered the sexton to place six candlesticks on the altar. But because I did not also fix him up with candles I found when I went to the altar that the candlesticks were empty and unlighted. So it goes with everything. Even the houseboys would not go to sleep in their proper places if the father did not watch them and seek them out from other nooks.

One can easily realize from this presentation what the mis-

sionary's work consists of and what the difference is between a European and an American pastor.

Besides, we are daily exposed to mortal danger. Thus, in Tabatana [*sic*] where Father Jakob Sedlmaier is at present, the Pimas shot arrows through the window at the now deceased Father Saggiardi of Italy while he slept in his room. They were set to flight by his cries for help and later were captured by the judges and given their deserved punishment. Father Juan Baptist Grashofer in Guebavi was almost certainly done away with by poison, as explained above. Another, Father Saetta, was clubbed to death in his room at Caborca by the Pimas; his blood is still visible on the walls. The apostate Indians of California only a year ago gruesomely murdered two father missionaries, as I wrote in an earlier letter. Conditions in all Pimería can best be judged by the rebellions which I myself experienced. These rebellions were perpetrated by the Pimas in both Upper and Lower Pimería. During both rebellions I was by necessity forced to venture into danger.

On another occasion I wrote how at Guebavi the Pimas deserted me all at once, drove away horses and cattle, and left me alone with a boy who was too little to flee with them (and who was forgotten by them) along with my Nicolas. Simultaneously, they broke into my house at San Xavier del Bac, the other mission under my care at that time, stole everything, including the new, beautiful, and precious vestments in five colors and all appurtenances which our viceroy had given to us when we were sent to these new missions. They tore the vestments into a thousand pieces and used two chalices for their festive drinks, broke them, and also slaughtered and ate all the livestock.

The cause of this unrest was a false report given out by some uneasy Spaniards who wanted to frighten the Pimas. They alleged that Captain Don Juan de Ansa would come and slaughter all Pimas. Nothing more was needed completely to confound the Pimas of Pimería Alta and to cause them to flee to the mountains. However, through the arrival of the said captain and through the persuasion of the padres quiet was speedily restored. I told fathers Kaspar Stiger and Ignatius Keller, who were with me and who accompanied me in seeking the fugitives, that I had on another occasion brought my Pimas back from the mountains. With the padres and some of the Pimas we negotiated with the others, using kindness instead of force, to persuade them to return. Through our intercession, none was punished.

The Disturbance of 1737

Another far greater and more dangerous disturbance occurred during the present year, 1737, in my neighborhood and mainly in the villages under my supervision. This turmoil caused me so much trouble, labor, and damage that the latter cannot be repaired for several years. During Lent it is customary for the missionary to visit all of his missions so as to give the parishioners opportunity to confess according to church rule. I got word that some unrest was in the offing and was warned to cease hearing confession. But for that very reason it seemed to me necessary to pursue my duty. Therefore, I visited all my villages, everywhere heard confession of the inhabitants, and judging by appearances found everything quiet.

Taking advantage of opportunity I visited a *real mineral*, situated more than a hundred miles from my house at Tecoripa, and heard confession of the Spaniards living there. When I returned to Tecoripa I found the village completely deserted with the exception of the magistrate and his family and the old choirmaster. These people could tell me nothing except that during the night the populace had fled from the village, some on foot, some mounted. Their tracks led to St. Martial, one of my villages. Precious comfort! And what results had I hoped for from the confession!

Since I found myself thus deceived I immediately made a report to the secular magistrate and urged him to accompany me in a search for the fugitives. I did not know the reason why they had fled, and without delay I sent some Spaniards to the other villages to reconnoiter. They brought back the report that there was not a living soul in the villages; all footsteps led in the direction of the aforementioned St. Martial. All this occurred in the week before Passion Sunday. The magistrate wrote me saying he was ready to accompany me at any time. I suggested he meet me the next day in the village of Guasi. This he did. From Guasi we dispatched Indians who were strangers to the fugitives to seek out the place where the Pimas had assembled. Our messengers were instructed to order the Pimas to return immediately to their villages so that the father and the magistrate could visit them, village by village, and determine who were absent.

These messengers returned with the report that the Pimas had neither fled from their villages nor had assembled to commence a rebellion. Instead, they had been called to a somewhat distant village to see a magistrate who had risen from the dead, a *hechichero* or medicine man, and also to hear the preaching and relating of

wonderful things about the other world by Father Baierca who had died several years ago at Mission Belem in the Yaqui province and who had reportedly returned from the dead. Thus did certain witch doctors deceive the Indians to get them away from the missionaries.

When the falsity of these pretexts was explained and when it was pointed out that they were the misrepresentations of the envious Evil One, the Indians obeyed the admonitions to return to their former dwellings in their villages. After their return I visited all the villages with the magistrate, counted the inhabitants, gave orders that those who were missing be sought out and informed of their error. I explained that this time they would not be punished, but that should the offense be repeated the magistrates would receive the most strenuous punishment if they did not try to prevent such an exodus or at least immediately report it to the father missionary or to the superior magistrate. All thereupon kneeled and prayed God for forgiveness for having lent ear to the suggestions of the evil enemy and his heretical teachers and witch doctors, and all promised earnestly in the future to give no credence to their lies. Following this I exorcised the places where such assemblages had taken place with the usual church exorcism during the performance of which several Indians are reported to have fainted. After this was done in each village I returned home again with renewed hope on the Friday preceding Palm Sunday.

On Sunday the Pimas arrived in great numbers from all villages to embrace the blessed palm branches. Also during Holy Week divine service was extraordinarily well attended. Therefore, I took the opportunity emphatically to lay bare before those present the falsehoods of the Evil One, and to show them that for one hundred years during which Pimería had been converted to Christianity there had never occurred such a general commotion, a fact which should have been disquieting to all right thinking people.

Among other causes which are to blame for unrest are the heathenish dances and other inadmissible practices which the Pimas resort to. After so many years of upbringing in the Catholic Faith and in good instruction, nothing more should be heard of such heathenish and godless behavior.

I was not much astonished that those in Pimería Alta, who had in former times neither seen nor heard anything of missionaries, should be so credulous as to know nothing of the true light of the faith. But that those in Pimería Baja who, as already explained, had been enlightened for a hundred years should so conduct them-

selves seems to prove that the Pimas appear more Catholic than they actually are. Who would have thought that the Pimas after recognizing their great error and repenting it would not conduct themselves peacefully, and that these simple appearing people would know how to deceive more intelligent folk? Yet, so it happened! And it came to pass that their former innocence and their former promises to improve themselves were only a cloak to their wickedness and to the cunning of the Evil One.

Thus, on Wednesday after Easter Sunday, there came to the mission the visitor general who journeys to Rome every second year. This year, following his arrival in Mexico with the new fathers missionary, he immediately began his visitation and arrived in my mission on the day indicated. His name is Father Andreas Xaverius Garzias. In each village the Pimas received him with the usual rejoicing, and he bestowed upon them a fatherly blessing. After his arrival I spent the entire day with him without any worry and with great consolation. Exactly this circumstance, however, provided the Pimas the desired opportunity to get started unobserved. They procured food for a journey and received assurances from some who had arrived to greet the visitor that once they reached their destination they would require nothing in addition.

The *padres hospites* then retired. Because it was very warm the visitor requested that I leave the house doors standing upon. I usually locked these doors at night to prevent my servants and boys from making nocturnal departures. So I ordered my boys to go to sleep, and likewise went to my room to rest. The next morning, as I always did first thing, I tried to awaken the boys. I called them repeatedly, but receiving no reply looked for them and found none in his place.

To avoid making a disturbance and awakening the guests I went into the village. There I found no one either except the magistrate, who knew as little about the matter as I did myself, and the father visitor's servants who slept in the vestibule. Everyone else had fled, as before, only this time the flight was far more general. Their few household belongings and the already ripe grain were left behind. Also all my houseboys, except my Nicolas, were gone. Only one other, about the age of six, had remained. When I asked him why he had not gone with the others, he answered "Because I did not wish to go with them!" The sexton had taken everything with him.

As I later figured it out, during the night sixteen tribes in a circuit of one hundred and fifty hours gathered together at one

specified place, as though the Evil One had brought them together. They were summoned by flying messengers—the Pimas seem more to fly than to ride on horseback—to appear at a given place. If one wishes to know how the Pimas reckon hours and days without being able to read, then note that they can count to twenty on the fingers and toes. If they wish to count to forty, they say: "Twice as much as the number of fingers and toes." Also they reckon time by the moon and specify, for example, the full moon as the occasion for some transaction. They never make a mistake as to the specific time.

The father visitor did not know whether or not the flight of the Pimas signified an uprising in which all Spaniards would be slain (as an earlier rumor had it). When he saw that I was deserted by all, even by the cook, he said he wished to depart that evening so as to avoid causing me inconvenience through his presence. However, I fancied that fear had moved him to depart. Fortunately, the soldiers who had arrived here the previous week for the necessary protection of the church in all eventualities had not yet returned to their fortress, but were helping to eat up my small quantity of bread. For the safety of the father visitor I sent these soldiers to accompany him until the next day. I, myself, slept with him in the field and returned home the day after that.

I did not know the destination of this present exodus, but dispatched two soldiers to search out the direction of the tracks. They reported that all of the Pimas, great and small, had fled by the same path as before, on foot and on horse. Certainly, not a single one of my horses was to be found. The Pimas had taken all of my tame horses (more than a hundred in number), thus the more easily to remove the women and children to the specified place. Some horses which were tied up in the yard had been released and taken along by the houseboys. So it was that I no longer had my riding horses and had to make use of unfamiliar ones.

I now hastily informed the superiors how things stood, so that they would be on guard. They immediately admonished the captain in the fortress (three hundred miles distant from here) to render me necessary aid with his soldiers and other Spaniards.

Be of good cheer, Father Philipp! The corn-husks will empty themselves and the cattle will come to the butcher, but what of it. Why do the Pimas cause such turmoil and expense!

In these circumstances the most important thing was to find out where the Pimas had gone, and what the goal and purpose was of this general gathering which had put the entire country in terror. For on that night every Pima had fled without having given any

previous indication of such an intention. This applied not only to those who lived in villages but also to those who worked in the mines. I, and others, were of the opinion that had an emperor wished to execute something like this he could not with all of his shrewdness and care have succeeded as well as did the villain who instigated this unrest and this flight.

After some days a man who was a house steward (or, as he is called here, a *mayordomo*) arrived in a neighboring village. This man had a Pima mother and a Spanish father. He was the only one who had not fled with the others. Because he was somewhat more reasonable and loved me with a loyal heart, he brought me the report that the assemblage was to take place about thirty miles from my village on a high mountain, called the Black Mountain. This distant place was chosen because, for one reason, the idol could not manage to tell his lies at the place of the earlier assemblage owing to the powerful exorcism which I had carried out (as already stated), and also because, for another reason, they believed the father would not follow them that great distance.

The *mayordomo* said further that the messengers who had summoned the Pimas had alleged that Montezuma had arisen from the dead and had ordered all Pimas to betake themselves to the other side of the Black Mountain because the world would be changed (that is, would come to an end), Spaniards would be turned to stone, and Pimas alone would survive. Later the Spaniards would rise again and serve the Pimas, as now they were served by them. They were not to concern themselves with nourishment; everything would be found in abundance. There would be a moat from which each one could pull out on a little string whatever he wished, such as the most beautiful clothes, and so forth.

Montezuma was the monarch who was considered a god in this part of America and who was finally killed by the Spaniards in Mexico, as I believe I have already earlier written. His tribal home had been in Pimería Alta, and the Pimas believed that he would return and rule them again. Therefore, the sly instigator of this unrest allowed it to be everywhere circulated that Montezuma, or as they call him, *Arisbi*, had arisen from the dead.*

I took fresh courage from these reports because I recognized them to be evidence only of a wicked deception by the hellish enemy, and not a rebellion. I prevailed upon the *mayordomo* to proceed to the place of assemblage and there pretend that he, too, was a

* See below, p. 170.

fugitive so that he might join the others. Moreover, he would be able to observe carefully all their actions and report to me so that I could take all necessary precautionary measures. He promised me he would do this and would return within a few days unless he were killed as a spy.

In the meantime I had noticed that in all of my villages great damage had been done by the fugitives. Field produce had been left for cattle fodder. Grain had been cut before the flight began. Sheep, goats, and cattle had been slaughtered. And food stores had been broken into and emptied. Even this gave me hope that the commotion could not last long. For with such a crowd the food stores would soon give out, and the mountain fruits were not yet ripe in this season. Nevertheless, all preparations were made to march out against the recalcitrants unless they returned of their own free will.

The majordomo who had been sent out came back after five days and reported the following things.

There was a great multitude of people in an almost inaccessible valley. The pass at the Black Mountain which led into the valley was so narrow that a horse could hardly get through it. There were about three thousand people assembled there with as many horses, because each person had at least one horse. They had taken from the missions and from the Spaniards all horses which they could get their hands on. In the middle of the valley were some straw huts erected in a circle (here called *corral*) within which stood a long thin pole. To this pole were fastened various silk ribbons stitched with the feathers of different birds.

In the same place stood an altar decorated with ornaments stolen from the church of mission Belem. Entrance into the huts was forbidden everyone on pain of death. Even a runaway wild horse which had broken through the straw door of the corral was killed on the spot. Mornings and evenings a man of short stature came forth from another hut, opened the door of the corral, and seated himself beside the door on a stool (which had also been brought from Belem). This one was the false prophet and the devil's servant.

All the arrivals had to approach him and after he had made the sign of the cross they had to kneel and make the same sign. The Arisbi*—so I shall henceforth call him—who pretended to be the interpreter of Montesuma, laid his hand upon their heads, and

* See above, p. 169.

took away from them all rosaries and consecrated things (which the Pimas and Indians carry about their necks in clusters). If they were wearing good clothes they took them off and gave them to him so that, as he pretended, he could dress those who would soon rise up from the dead. Morning and evening the Pimas prayed the rosary in unison and sang the Christian doctrine, as is customary in the villages. Then the Arisbi began to preach the Christian doctrine from his stool. The majordomo said that Montesuma, dressed in a white shirt and wearing on his head a white cloth biretta (shaped like those worn by priests in church) spoke from an altar. The Arisbi permitted the Indians to view Montesuma only by moonlight so that he alone might hear and tell them what Montesuma said.

Montesuma stated that no one should return to his village because during the return journey the earth would open up and swallow them. The earth was full of dead people and, therefore, putrid. It was as thin as pasteboard and in a short time would burst, whereupon all Spaniards, as well as those Pimas who would not come to him and swear allegiance to him, would instantly be swallowed. Only those who had come to this valley would be spared. They would never suffer want because though all would eat out of a receptacle which stood by his side, yet this receptacle would never be empty. Also exceptionally clear water would well up. All could drink this with delight and would become as beautiful as the moon and the stars. The world would smell like musk and balsam. Thereafter, Spaniards would rise again to serve the Pimas. All these things would happen within four days, so he told them.

When an old woman died the Arisbi ordered that she be laid in a high tree so that all could see how in four days she would regain life. However, the corpse remained there until the unbearable odor could no longer be endured. Not only well people but also the aged, the sick, and the ailing were brought to the assembly place despite great distances and the rigors of the journey, because all wished to see Montesuma.

During all this, the Arisbi performed his leaps, and climbed up and down the pole like a snake. While on top of the pole he would blow some fiery arrows out of his mouth, telling the on-lookers they should have no fear. If the soldiers came they would be swallowed by the earth in the middle of the road and he would shoot any survivors with these fiery arrows. He also put on false shows to make the Pimas believe whatever he said. Occasionally he produced a tobacco pipe and handed it to Montesuma who then

blew clouds of tobacco smoke out of his mouth, though in such a way that someone else could take his place. Six girls, among them unfortunately two from my village, were chosen to wait upon Montezuma. When the Arisbi performed his tricks, the girls were locked up so that they could not perceive the deception. The Arisbi's horse (stolen from my neighbor father missionary) had to be led to water by the girls in a kind of procession.

At assembly time the Arisbi called the people with a little bell at whose tone all came a-flying like birds, each desiring to be first. After the function alms were collected. Since the Arisbi and his servants could not eat everything, they buried the remainder, on the pretext that deceased friends would come at night and eat it.

Among other things the Arisbi also told those assembled what I was doing in Tecoripa, and that soldiers were arming to take the field against them, but that they should have no fear. If the father came alone they would receive him in a friendly and respectful way so that he should himself be convinced of the truth of what the Arisbi said. The soldiers would not reach the place. The Arisbi perhaps imagined that I was as much of an ignoramus as the two Spaniards whom the judge of Aguache had sent to the interpreter of the Arisbi with a very silly message, ordering them to cut short the celebration and return to the villages. However, on order of the Arisbi these Spaniards likewise sank to their knees before Montezuma and participated in the ceremony with the Pimas, as they themselves later told me, and were of the opinion that they had done a very holy thing.

Because my majordomo remained near the Arisbi while he carried on his teachings, the latter noticed him and asked him with what intention he had arrived so late. To this the majordomo replied that he certainly wished, like the others, to enjoy the prophesied blissfulness. However, he said he was astonished by such a question, for if the real Montesuma were there the Arisbi could ask Montesuma what was in the late-comer's heart. Thereupon, he gradually withdrew, after he had taken a puff on the tobacco pipe offered him by the Arisbi, a pipe also smoked by Montesuma. In this way, no doubt, he acquired his illness. Because from then on he has been insensitive in his lower body and in part of his upper body except at night, when he is wracked by the most terrible pains. He is able to walk only when doubled over, aided by crutches. Nevertheless, he returned and told me this story, which I have up to this point summarized, and in this way he gave me courage to

seek out the assemblage and to get more nearly to the bottom of the matter.

Following the majordomo's return I reported immediately to the father visitor and asked permission to go to the assemblage place. He answered that Captain Juan Baptiste de Anza had likewise asked that I go with him and that I might, therefore, accompany the said captain if I was not afraid to do so. Moreover, I was to provide supplies for the entire company. Hence, I departed with the necessary provisions and the soldiers stationed there, leaving behind a garrison for house and church. We used borrowed horses, since mine had all been led away by the Pimas. In two days we joined the captain and his company. Together we totalled sixty persons as we proceeded against the assemblage.

It was reported that all the Indians were armed with bows and arrows and were not of a mind to come back. For the rest, disunity had already broken out among them. Some from one village had recognized the Arisbi as a deceiver, had wanted to take him captive and deliver him to me. Others, however, had won out and had agreed to defend themselves and the Arisbi to the last. After the above-mentioned majordomo had escaped them, they left the valley and withdrew to a mountain, near to the Black Mountain, which was very difficult to climb but which, because of lack of water, they soon had to leave.

Here I must insert a short report about the poison which the Pimas smear on their arrows, since I forgot to tell about this in the proper place above. There is a shrub called *herba de flechas*, resembling the birdberry tree, whose sap is white like milk and drips plentifully from a broken branch. The Pimas gather this sap and with it paint their stone arrowheads which are shaped like snakes' tongues. When one is wounded by such a poisoned arrow, he quickly swells up and in a short time dies. There is no remedy which will deprive the poison of its efficacy. The strength of the poison is sometimes increased by the following method. A piece of liver is washed in the sap. Then a poisonous snake is struck in the mouth with the liver, causing the snake to bite the liver and empty its poison therein. Following this, arrowheads are painted with this liver. However, the poison tree alone is so powerful that if one but sleep under it he swells up like a drum.

I now return to the subject at hand.

Since we did not know exactly where the fugitive Pimas were established we took the road on the far side of the Black Mountain, because we assumed that they would await us on the near side.

Thus, we would be more apt to come upon them from the rear. As we were small in number, sufficiently strong in the open but not in the mountains, we decided to send a few of our men ahead to find out if things could not be settled peaceably.

Two Pimas who returned from the assemblage and who fell into our hands gave us full reports and promised, if we would spare them, to make an arrangement whereby we could capture the Arisbi.

We were especially concerned about demonstrating to the Pimas that the Arisbi was not a god but very much a human, and that despite his pretensions to immortality he was certainly mortal. I made a solemn promise to St. Anthony and also to the most pure Virgin of Loretto, who has an exceptionally beautiful and costly chapel at Matape, the mission next to mine, that the affair be brought to order without more bloodshed than demanded by justice.

And, lo! that very same night the Evil One informed the Arisbi that the soldiers were coming and would kill him. Thereupon, the Arisbi ordered the Pimas to flee and return to their villages. He also wished to save himself in flight. On St. John's Day they were without fail to assemble again, for on that day the world would be overturned and only their place would be safe.

In this dispersal of the Pimas one can see the dispensation of Providence. For had they resisted we would without doubt have had a hard battle. They were three thousand strong, armed with bows and arrows, and fortified in their mountain. We were small in number. However, they scattered during the same night as the arrival of the two Pimas who did not yet know what had occurred and, like us, were of the opinion that we would meet with all of them together.

Therefore, the next day we sent the two Pimas to inform the assembled natives that if they conducted themselves properly the captain, on intercession of the padres, would protect them. Protection would apply to all except those who had instigated the unrest. In this way we were hopeful the more easily to win over the deceived people and to bring the ringleaders to their deserved punishment.

This was the plan of men. God knew much more certainly how to end the matter—without doubt through the intercession of the most virtuous Virgin Mary and of St. Anthony. For the one whom we above all wished to apprehend fell into our hands in trying to escape, because he did not know from which side we were approaching. God had kept this hidden from the Evil One. The Arisbi believed we would move up from the side of my villages and therefore took flight on the other side with some of his country-

men. He was not a Pima, but belonged to an enemy tribe, and it is therefore remarkable that he could dominate all the Pimas. In his flight he came toward us a half day's journey, when he met the two Pimas we had dispatched. These told him that soldiers were in the vicinity. This report so confused him that instead of hastening his flight he deliberated and spent time gathering some head of stock which he wished to drive with him so that he would not lack food. This he did in a remote mountain vale until, to his undoing or perhaps for his salvation, he found that his pursuers had blocked the road of escape.

The messengers brought back the report that they had met the Arisbi with a few followers and that he was planning without delay to betake himself into the interior mountains. Immediately upon receiving this report the captain changed horses, left me behind with the impedimenta, and hurried on horseback with only twenty-five soldiers and the two Pimas in a bee line to where the Arisbi had last been seen.

At the time the two Pimas rejoined us we had already made a long march. We had dismounted at about two in the afternoon to rest for the remainder of the day. But the captain broke camp without food and without further preparation. Yet he did not reach the Arisbi at the designated place because the latter had hurriedly gone farther ahead with his companions and his stock. The captain followed their tracks until nightfall and until the fatigue of the horses forced him to come to a halt. Then he sent for other horses and planned to await us. On his advice we broke camp early in the morning and followed his tracks with the baggage. None of those, who were with us, knew the way, since none had ever been in this region. It grew late and we did not know how far the pursuers had got. I wished to stop because the mules were pretty tired. As I stood in thought a messenger from the captain arrived and told us that the fugitives had been overtaken at the seashore (on a mountain near the village of San José de las Guaymas) and were being held prisoners.

It is almost impossible to imagine how the fugitive with his stock could have gone so far in so short a time. The captain chased him an entire day in full gallop and would not have reached him had not the sea cut off further flight.

Upon receiving the captain's note we pushed on with renewed strength without tarrying to eat until we met the captain and his soldiers. They had not eaten for two days, but were able on the

following day, the day of the Holy Ascension, joyfully to celebrate our salvation.

Hardly had the supposed deity been taken than the mere report of his capture was sufficient to cause the Pimas to return to their villages. Each one hurried home as fast as he could so as not to be caught. We found at the spots where the assemblages had taken place nothing but countless bones of devoured stock. Worst of all was the fact that almost all horses from my mission were dead; the survivors had their tails and manes cut off. Even today I cannot reckon the damage which was suffered by my mission through this turmoil.

In the meantime, the captain examined the matter and found everything as I have so far described it. Because there was no grass, hay, or sweet water at the place of capture we could not remain there with so many horses and mules. Here at the seaside, salt water allows nothing to grow except palm trees. Hence, it was necessary to hasten the death sentence so that we could begin the journey home.

The Arisbi admitted that the Evil One had revealed to him lies which he should tell the Pimas. According to him revelation had come through a little carved wooden idol which he had hidden in the altar. He considered this to be the truth because he could now well see how he had been deceived.

Until the captain sought me to prepare the Arisbi for death I had no words with him. I wanted above all to know where the devilish idol and other sorcerer's material were, and found them to be in a cave where the Arisbi had concealed them when forced into flight. Along with them were rosaries, religious objects, lace and ribbons, household stuff, also a cross made of brass, and another cross made of beads and sea shells. One would think that God had had dealings with the devil from the way this rascal knew how to confound evil with good, to mislead the Pimas.

In appearance the Arisbi was puny and short of stature. He had already had communion with the Evil One for several years. As soon as I came to him he embraced me, kissed my hands and feet, and showed himself ready for everything that I wished to tell and advise him about. It was in this way that I found out the truth of his dealings with the devil. To all appearances he withstood his punishment bravely, holding in his hands the while a figure of Our Dear Lady of Loretto, until he received the musket shot and fell to earth dead. Earlier he had explained to his countrymen that everything which he had told them was pure falsehood, and that

he had himself been deceived by the Evil One. His body was hung on a palm tree.

Immediately after the execution we started homeward to visit the Pimas who had returned to their villages, and to punish the ringleaders and instigators of this unrest. All who had betaken themselves to the assemblage, from the smallest to the largest, were punished according to their deserts. Two of the leading agitators and instigators were not given sufficient respite by God so that they could fall into the hands of earthly judges, rather He called them to account through speedy death.

From all this one must conclude how little the Pimas can be trusted and how easily they allow themselves to be misled, and how they have in no way as yet cast out false beliefs from their hearts. The unrest caused such confusion of spirit that even some of the most reasonable became doubters. They wondered if there was some truth in the matter and heard with joy that Montesuma had arisen and had come to take over the government. However, on Whitsuntide-holiday, after the usual divine service, I assembled all the people in front of my house with the Arisbi's little Montesuma bell. In the presence of all the judges, the señor captain and the soldiers, I ordered a fire built and with the Holy Ghost preached a fiery sermon. Then I publicly burned the idol and all the other magical utensils so that they saw what sort of a god or Montesuma they had been praying to.

I close this report with the plea that whoever takes the time to read these hurriedly written lines will forgive my errors and the confusion of this simple presentation. I have in truth almost forgotten my mother tongue, since no one here reminds me of it. I hope one will be satisfied with my simple report about this country and its inhabitants, a report which upon request of my right reverend uncle, the choirmaster and custodian, Segesser von Brunegg at Münster, I could not refrain from writing.

I present to all relatives and acquaintances, as well as to all those who read this description, holy prayers, so that I may measure up to my calling, in the work for my mission, for the Glory of God and the salvation of the souls of the Pimas entrusted to me, and so that I may eventually receive the crown of eternal glory through the due administration of my apostolic office.

From Tecoripa in Pimería Baja, not far from Sonora in America,
July 31, 1737.

Most unworthy servant and missionary of the said mission.

PHILIPP SEGESSER, Soc. Jesu.

Excerpt from a Letter

Most worthy mother and brother!

Why is it that I did not receive correspondence this year with the arrival of the merchants? Such a failure has never before occurred. I am afraid that things may not be as they have been and I am very eager to receive news. At about this time a year ago I completed with great care a lengthy MS so that it should reach the beloved Fatherland and my younger brother and after him your worthy cousin, secretary at Münster. However, I have as yet heard nothing about this from Mexico, perhaps because of the great unrest and fear which the abominable plague has caused there.

It is rumored that this plague has now somewhat abated, though still continuing, and that more than ten thousand souls have been carried off by it.*

* Translator's note. The above letter, or excerpt from a letter, not identified as to time or place of writing, is evidently an inquiry on Segesser's part about the fate and whereabouts of the Relation.

Appendix

1. Vegetation and Garden Crops

Pimería Baja lies in the so-called torrid zone. Being exposed, therefore, through the greater part of the year to great heat and warm winds it suffers drought and water shortage. Water from the meager brooks or springs is collected in deep ditches. When brooks dry up or are exhausted and the plantations can no longer be watered, everything wilts. Vegetation revives again only during the rainy season in winter.

Lack of water explains why the Pimas cannot be brought together in larger villages. Without considering the Pima preference for an unrestricted life in the wilderness, only as many can be united in one place as the sufficiency of water permits. In the mountains and in Pimería Alta one does not suffer as much from heat and from drought as one does in Pimería Baja. I would have liked to bring together several tribes at mission Tecoripa, where the soil is good and fruitful, but the water deficiency did not permit this.

At Comuripa and Pecatecavi soil and water are sufficient because these villages are situated on the Rio Grande, [The Yaqui River]. This river swells during the rainy season like the Danube in Germany, although in summer it contains hardly as much water as does the Emme at Lucerne. When the Rio Grande overflows it floods the entire country and like the Nile makes it fertile the entire year, even though no rain falls. On the other hand, when this river does not overflow, there is no harvest. Two years ago the river rose so high that it destroyed entire mission villages and churches in the Yaqui country.

Other villages like St. Martial and St. Joseph are situated in the most beautiful country, but have no water and the inhabitant must nourish themselves on fruits from the hills or on what I send there. In St. Joseph I planted a wheat field near a small brook. However, the Pimas prematurely cut the crop and carried it away to an assemblage, a matter to which I have referred elsewhere.

In this country there are exceptionally curative and sweet-smelling herbs and roots which are known for their qualities as household remedies. Those which are common both to Pimería and the homeland are rue, mint, and salvia. The latter grows in all fields to about average tree size, has an exceptionally powerful odor, blooms two or three times a year, and resembles spikenard.

Anise, caraway, and camomile are also found here. The latter is called *malzanilia* [sic] and is a curative for various sicknesses. There are two kinds of camomile, domestic and wild. Blossoms of the wild variety disseminate an extraordinarily powerful odor. There is a large, tree-like shrub which bears fruit similar to the acorn. It is called *cobobe* fruit, tastes like a hazelnut, and is very oily. Oil pressed from it is highly prized. The Fathers Procurators in Rome made very urgent requests for *cobobe* because of its very high value in Rome. I do not doubt that physicians and apothecaries in Germany know this fruit, though perhaps by another name.

The same must be true of the *contra hierba* root, because its strength and virtue can hardly have remained unknown. It is an efficacious antidote. Likewise, there is found here the so-called bezoar, locally known as *piedra besar*, a stone found in the stomachs of deer in very arid, waterless regions. Indians well know the value of these stones. For them they demand an ox, a woman's dress, or goods of equal value, though the stone may weigh only two or three ounces. On the other hand, a deerskin is itself worth not more than two Spanish dollars.

I proceed now to those shrubs and trees which seem to bear special mention. First, there is the pitahaya about which I have already spoken because of its sweet juice. I recall that one time in the reading at table in a college (I do not remember where, now) the appearance of this plant was correctly compared with that of an organ. It has pipes of different sizes grouped about like a kind of fritter.

I add only the comment that this tree, very tall and thorn-covered, would go well in a royal garden and that the fruit is fit for an emperor's table. I wonder why the apothecary at Ingolstadt does not grow pitahayas in his botanical garden, because the juice of the tree is regarded as a curative. He does grow the *tuna* plant, as well as other kinds of vegetation from this country. In winter he keeps tunas in his hothouse. It were desirable that they were so raised here. Tuna plants, because of their sharp thorns, ought all be burned up in a Babylonian fire stove. Thorny plants and shrubs like the tuna are very numerous also in California. Their presence hampers the recapture by soldiers of rebellious and apostate Indians who have murdered missionaries and burned churches.

In Ingolstadt, the tuna is called also *Indian fig*. There are two kinds; one bears white, the other red fruit. The fruit are cones which grow on the edge of the leaf. Ripe fruit is removed with a fork and scraped with glass so that the little spiny-thorns do not enter one's hands. The fruit is then opened with a knife and the contents removed and eaten. I ate some tuna fruit in Ingolstadt. It was good, but was far inferior in flavor to the pitahaya.

Another tree, called *mezquite*, is the same which the Spaniards call *áloe* in their country. The growth called *áloe* in Ingolstadt is called *magei* [*sic*] here. In several years' time it produces one stalk, as I saw in the bishops' garden at Eichstädt. Juice extracted from the maguey is refreshing to those who have inflammatory fevers. This juice is highly prized in Pimería. I have some maguey plants in my garden, but my Pimas do not know how to extract the juice.

The mesquite tree looks like an oak. Its blossoms have a penetrating, pleasant scent. The fruit of the tree resembles green peas, but is longer and thinner. Pimas dry and pulverize mesquite fruit into a flour from which they make a porridge which is considered a delicacy. The fruit served me on journeys for quenching thirst. The tree is thorn covered and grows as a shrub along all roads.

Another tree, called *auina*, grows much taller than does the mesquite. From it are cut leaves of blood-red color. Auina bark can be used for dyeing, as can the bark of the *presil* [*sic*]. Both kinds of trees grow in large numbers about my house and I could fill several boat-loads with brasil. With brasil I have dyed beautiful easter eggs, never before seen

either by Pimas or Spaniards. Brasil wood is harder than the wood of the walnut. Therefore, large war vessels are built from it in Havana.

The green tree, *palo verde*, is so-called because it has green bark. It resembles an apple tree. Its blossoms and fruit are like those of the mesquite, except that the fruit is somewhat broader. The wood is very resinous, burns like pinewood when newly cut, and the ashes may be used for soap making.

The silver-fir grows in Pimería Alta but not in Pimería Baja where the heat is too great. Lime, maple, and willow trees are found along streams. The lime is red in color and its wood is as hard as the oak. Oak trees grow in the hills. They bear little acorns which are sweet-tasting and are eaten like nuts by the Spaniards.

The *bochote* tree has a unique trait. It blooms like the white lily and produces a fruit as large as a cucumber. This fruit consists of a very hard shell within which is a kind of cotton filled with kernels. When the over-ripe fruit bursts, the cotton flies away like thistledown. Pimas spin this cotton like real cotton, but the spun yarn serves for nothing else than candle wicks.

Tow and flax are unknown here. However, if the seeds which I distributed grow and prosper this will be changed.

Among the trees and shrubs not listed by me is a bush from which flows the mastic used for incense at Christian service.

All German and European field flowers grow here on bushes and trees. Tree lilies and tuberous flowers are in color and scent like those in Germany, although they are smaller. They appear around Christmas time in the rainy season and bloom at least twice a year, to the delight of travelers.

After I had planted gardens in Pimería Alta, both at San Xavier del Bac and at Guebavi, and had stocked them with various fruit trees, I had to leave for Tecoripa. My fruit trees were bearing fruit for my successors, but in Tecoripa I could almost have begun a new garden with less trouble than the expenditure of labor that was required to bring the old one again to flower. The Tecoripa garden had become completely overgrown with mesquite and innumerable wild shrubs. Fences were down, trees were withered and ruined because they had not been irrigated, and everything had been devastated by ants. There had been no resident missionary at Tecoripa for five years, and the Pimas unless supervised do not concern themselves with anything except maize, gourds, melons, and peas.

I have two gardeners, but they do not understand anything and have all they can do to take care of the daily irrigation which is managed with water bags carried to the trees and vines on a mule. Therefore, I have to make the best of gardening with the help of the houseboys, clearing the ground, cultivating the trees, planting new plants, and so forth.

I found lemon, orange, fig, pomegranate, pear, and apple trees, but all except one lemon and one pomegranate were so dried up and neglected that they did not bear fruit for two years. The vines had to be cultivated anew, and only this year are they richly hung with grapes.

I have trees in my garden which are not found in Europe. For example, the *chapote* which grows as tall as a large walnut, loses its leaves in July, but keeps its fruit until new leaves appear, at which time the fruit ripens. Chapote fruit is somewhat similar to the white plum, is three-cornered,

and contains three large stones or seeds, and a few small ones. The *quaiaba* is a shrub which bears a fruit like little limes.

Flowers are not grown here in gardens. Enough flowers, and very beautiful ones, grow in the fields.

On the other hand, one plants *carabansas* [garbanzos], round and longish peas, lentils, and much Turkish pepper. This kind of pepper, which we grow as a decorative plant in Luzern gardens, is very much used in this country where it serves in place of real pepper. Spaniards call it *temoli* and along with their *olla* prize no food higher than that which is spiced with Turkish pepper. It bites the tongue mightily. One prepares it as follows. The red fruit is placed on glowing coals until it is easily ground up. The grinding or crushing is done in a mortar or on a stone, while water is occasionally poured upon it. The ground up pepper is then dumped into hot lard and cooked with pieces of meat. Turkish pepper is too hot for me; I burned my tongue upon it only once.

The garbanzo is a kind of pea which always goes into the *olla*, that is, the kettle in which meat is cooked.

The *olla* must appear on the table at all meals. Sometimes it is accompanied by a large quantity of veal (for the Spaniards seldom eat beef), cabbage, bacon, garlic or whole onions, and peas, all mixed up and cooked together.

The above-mentioned things are the only ones which have until now been planted here in gardens. Henceforth, however, we will plant various vegetable seeds which arrived from Europe.

Peas do not grow more than a span above the earth. Those which are trained up on stakes are less productive than the low growing ones. A measure of these peas is worth six or eight dollars.

2. The Rainy Season and Travel

The rainy season is granted to these hot lands by God's care in the months of July and August.* This season is of great value because enough can be planted and harvested at this time to last for the entire year. No other time of year is as beautiful as these two months when everything becomes green and is covered with blossoms.

But it is a great deal of trouble to travel in this season. From early morning until about two in the afternoon there are no storms, then thunderstorms rage with unusual ferocity. The traveler must equip himself with a tent for a refuge, because villages are quite far apart and there are no houses along the way. When I visit villages I have to take along at least

* Translator's note. Segesser's contradictory remarks concerning the time of occurrence of the rainy season cannot easily be reconciled. The "rainy season" for both Pimeria Alta and Baja is concentrated in the months of July and August, and may extend into September. Pimeria Alta, however, experiences a secondary rainy period in December and January.

Since Segesser so positively singles out both July and August, in the one case (above), and the "winter months," in other cases (pp. 145, and 179), as rainy periods, it must be assumed that he is confusing the primary and secondary rainy periods experienced in Upper Pimeria with conditions found in the Lower Pima province.

thirty horses for myself and the servants as well as five or six mules for carrying the necessary luggage. This includes church accouterments for masses, bread and provisions for the servants and for the village magistrates who all come to dinner when the missionary arrives, a bed, kitchenware, field tents, and what is even more essential than these, drinking water, because this cannot be found everywhere. Sometimes an escort is necessary. If it is, request is made of the captains, although at times Pimas and Indians are dressed up as soldiers. The latter are often braver than are the Spanish soldiers themselves.

The pay of a soldier amounts to four hundred Spanish dollars. He is required to keep ten horses. These cost him nothing to feed; he has only to see that they not get lost and therefore has them guarded night and day. In this country the soldier does not wear a cuirass. Instead he uses a deer-skin jacket to prevent the penetration of arrows. Also he carries a shield of thick paper with which to catch flying arrows, a carbine, a sword, and a pike or lance, the latter being very much feared by the Indians.

The roads are very rough and lead through great wildernesses. Since there are no roads in the mountains, one travels generally along water courses where the thorns frequently gash one so deeply as to draw blood. To be sure, I had the essential roads chopped clear so as to avoid always tearing the clothes.

3. Metals and Mining

Almost all mountains in Pimería Alta are rich in metals. At present, this fact avails little because of the shortage of people capable of working a gold or silver mine. Most are poor or lazy and indolent and opine that the gold and silver ought to rain down upon them. Actually a great quantity of pure silver was found this year (1737) near Guebavi, my former mission. With this silver was a lump which could not be moved by many oxen, even though it lay free and was unattached to the rocks. According to reports this silver block weighed one hundred and fifty *arrobas*, that is, three thousand five hundred pounds. Many other pieces were found varying in weight from twenty to fifty *arrobas*, along with numerous smaller pieces.

Such a thing had never before been seen. Silver ore which sometimes contains parts of pure silver is not infrequently found in these mountains, but this discovery in Arizona, in the vicinity of my former mission, had no precedent. It is quite possible that I rested on the very spot where the discovery was made at the time that I was sent to the silver mines of Arizona. However, I did not discover the treasure, for through holy baptism I searched for another kind of treasure—for souls.

The silver discovery was prized at several millions of dollars and was placed in custody (because it was considered to be treasure-trove) while a reply was awaited to the report sent to the government.

I do not consider this silver to be a treasure, because it did not lie in one heap nor was it buried deeply in the earth. Rather, it was scattered here and there, in some places deeply covered, in others so lightly that grass and earth hardly concealed it. A Yaqui Indian first discovered it. The Yaquis are in general excellent miners. The merchant inquired as to where

the silver had been refined. The Indian answered only that the silver was good and could be relied upon. Since he came frequently, he aroused suspicion of the Spaniards. They sought him out and found him in the act of digging silver. Now the matter became known and Spaniards arrived in swarms, some even from Chihuahua, but they came too late to share in the treasure.

In my opinion, Pimas and Indians and even Spaniards settled at the place many years ago, carried silver there and refined it. Then attacks, murders, or other circumstances destroyed the settlement and it was deserted. The straw huts fell in and over a long period of time decayed, but the refined silver remained abandoned in ditches where the straw huts had stood. This I think to be so because the silver was of a sort, judging from a piece of it which came to my hand, that had been purified by fire.

This is my opinion. In Mexico will be found the correct one.

Everywhere there are people who seek metal up hill and down dale, but there are few persons who wish to work. Since there are no inns in this country, these fellows move from house to house with their bare-boned nags and somehow earn a right to sponge and lounge about. If our king in Spain, God keep him, were to give the order to round up all these spongers, he would not need as many foreigners to protect his realm.

For the rest, there are in this country many kinds of ore, especially much copper, yet nothing is exploited except gold and silver. There is also some lead which is used for separating silver, because *asoge* [*sic*] or quicksilver is very expensive here.

In a silver mine not far from my mission were found dice of various sizes, like those in Baden, Switzerland. These dice are of black material which nobody recognizes. It is neither stone nor bone nor iron. In another mountain cavern somewhat farther distant, though still within this rectorate, there are various sized shells attached to rocks, like those found in the ocean.

During the rainy season one cannot work in the mines, partly because of the water, partly because it is necessary to plant and sow. This year, 1737, is on the whole a year of ill fortune, and the mines, too, yielded little.

4. Livestock in Pimería Baja

On various farms belonging either to the missions or to Spaniards are found large numbers of cattle. These roam free on the pasture and but few of them are tame. Yet these free ranging cattle are accustomed to run to a place called the *rodeo* upon the call or whistle of the herdsman. There the choice for slaughtering is made. Cattle are not worth much. An ox or a cow brings ten Spanish dollars; a steer, five; a calf, two or three. Calves are not slaughtered; steers are chosen instead. Sheep are preferred to calves for slaughtering.

A few years ago in mission Matape, which borders on my mission, there were supposed to be eighty thousand head of cattle (to be on the safe side, I say forty thousand). These were all white in color. At the present time, so few cattle are found at mission Matape that they barely provide enough for consumption. After the death of Father Capus

[Kappus] who was from the Austrian province and who, as was said, had once been a page to the virtuous Emperor Leopold, the care of stock was completely neglected. Those cattle not eaten by Indians were driven away. It is well known in this country that those things which are conserved by some are squandered by others.

As already said, there are few tame cattle here because the inhabitants do not know how to make use of milk. When they desire to milk a cow they first allow the calf to suck. Thus, the ignorance of Pimas and also of Spaniards is very damaging to livestock.

There are innumerable sheep in this country. In a space of three years a good acquaintance gave me four thousand sheep as tithes. Tithes are collected by the bishop of Guadiana to whose diocese this country belongs.

Cattle, horses, and mules, too, are very numerous. Mules are much needed for the transportation of merchandise. There are no freight wagons, rivers are not navigable, and roads are so narrow, rough, and steep in many places that one dreads peering down the precipices.

Horses are left in the fields the whole year round and get no other nourishment than the grass and straw which stand in the fields. There are two kinds of wild horses. The one kind is characteristically given to taking flight. Horses of this kind do much damage in that they lead tame horses away with them. They are usually captured during the dry season when they come at night to a familiar area which has been fenced in during the day with but one entrance left open. If they then go into this entrance they are hindered from leaving by horsemen who ambush them. Then, in time, they are tamed. The other kind of horse is less wild. Horses of the latter sort run together in *manadas*. They are, therefore, more easily rounded up than are the wild ones.

A manada is made up of twenty-five mares and one stallion.* They are herded for a few days until the stallion knows them. Then they may be turned loose to roam about with the assurance that they will not be lost. The twenty-six horses in the manada are provided with an ass so that mares will produce mules conceived by it. Mules are much more highly prized than are other foals. Those to whom the care of the manada is entrusted walk or ride every day in the fields to prevent wild beasts from harming or in other ways disturbing the young animals.

The taming of wild horses is a very dangerous business and it is amazing that there are those who expose themselves to such danger. Many accidents occur in the taming of wild horses. Hardly a year ago one of my parishioners mounted a half-broken mule to ride to another village. On the way he was thrown, but hung by one foot in the stirrup and was dragged over sticks and stones for a long distance. No one knew what had happened to him, so he lay in distress for three whole days and nights without food or water. When he was finally discovered and carried to the nearest village I was called to attend him. I rode twenty miles to reach him. He still lived. I heard his confession and administered extreme unction. Then, because I had nothing else with me except a little wine for mass and remembered the samaritan in the evangel, I prepared a salve

* Segesser uses the word *marabe* interchangeably with *manada*.

of wine and lard over the fire. I requested that he be completely salved several times with this preparation. And, lo! through the mercy of God, this man improved and later worked in my house as a servant!

It is fearsome to watch how wild horses toss about those who tame them, and how the unseated riders, one tossed here, the other there, get up again and remount, as though they had fallen onto a soft feather bed.

Far more dangerous than the taming of horses is the breaking of mules for riding. Even tamed mules are always somewhat unsafe. On the other hand, when once a horse has been broken it makes a very good saddle animal. This is especially so at my mission where, because of the stony ground, a horse develops hard hooves and therefore has great endurance on journeys. Horse shoes are not made in this country.

The *mula* or mare among mules is valued incomparably higher than the stallion. She always has a better gait than the *machor*. There are mulas which cannot be purchased for one hundred dollars, although a good tame horse sells for ten dollars, and an unbroken horse for three. An ass, useful in the *manadas*, generally costs one hundred dollars. This year I purchased two such. Because these animals are stupid and careless they are frequently rended by lions and tigers. This has happened to two of my asses in the space of one month.

This mission (Tecoripa) has twenty-six *marabes* which means about 1443 head of horses and mules. If a horse perishes it is not buried but simply lies there. Wild animals and birds, called *auras*, consume it right down to the bones in a day and night. Thus there is no danger that the carcass will fill the air with its stench.

5. The Animal Kingdom

The Pimería lion is not like the African lion; it is a leopard. Great numbers of these lions are found in Pimería, and they do much damage to *manadas* and to cattle. Tigers are not as numerous as lions.

The wild pig of Pimería has a sort of navel in the middle of its back. A horrible odor emanates from this navel which must immediately be cut from a slain pig to make its meat edible.

There are said to be stonebucks or wild goats in Pimería, though I have seen none of these myself. On the other hand, I have seen deer, bucks and does, and a wild goat called *vecendo*. The latter can be domesticated. I have some which follow me everywhere like dogs. They come even into the garden without doing any damage. When I sit, they lie at my feet. They are as large as stags. According to my knowledge the *vecendo* is an elk. I often use *vecendos* as examples to my Indians so that they may observe how these unreasoning beings recognize their benefactor.

Wild mountain cats found in these regions are quite destructive. The Pimería fox is like the European fox, only somewhat smaller. However, there is another kind of fox called *coite* [*sic*]. It is a very ugly beast, as large as a dog but smaller than a wolf. The country swarms with coyotes. Since there are no hunters and since miners prefer using their powder in the mines to using it for hunting, these harmful beasts of prey multiply unhindered and can be slain only with the herb which is brought here to kill them from Puebla de los Angeles.

This herb has the remarkable property of killing only fur-covered animals. They die within twenty-four hours after having eaten the herb. It is harmless to birds of prey, and it may even be given to human beings as medicine. The method of its use is as follows. An animal is killed, cut into chunks, and the chunks are then mixed with the pulverized herb, in the same way that meat is salted. The mixture is then placed in the skin of the slain animal and is left to hang for three days until it begins to decay. In the evening the chunks of meat are distributed where vultures and other birds cannot reach them. The foul-smelling meat attracts beasts of prey who eat it and who burst from having feasted upon it, unless they can immediately get water. I often use the herb to get rid of Pima Indian dogs which annoy me greatly in my house. The Pimas themselves kill no animals except those which they steal for food as, for example, the ox which they stole from me today and killed.

A very beautiful but very harmful animal is the *sorillia* [sic]. Its color is a mixture of black and white, though some zorillas are entirely of one color. It is as large as a porcupine (an animal also found here), and it has a tail more large and beautiful than a squirrel's. If a zorilla enters a chicken-coop it bites the heads off all the fowl and sucks out their blood. Its water is so noisome that whoever is overtaken by it is unable to endure the stench. A father missionary was once overcome by it.

The country is full of hares and conies which are very good to eat, though the Spaniards here do not eat them. So much the better for others! During journeys these animals are often eaten in place of other foods.

I proceed now to describe vermin. It is not remarkable that in this hot region where the earth is covered with thorns and weeds there are many kinds of vermin. Roads and paths and even houses are full of snakes against which one has to keep careful guard. Snakes have killed many of my horses. A snake-bitten horse can be helped if blood-letting is immediately resorted to. In mission Guebavi at my house the boys killed a medium-sized snake from whose stomach they took an entire hare. It is hard to conceive how so small a maw can encompass so large an animal. A few days ago I saw from my house a hare which leaped about as though tied to a rope. On approaching it I discovered a snake lying in the grass about three feet from the hare. This snake attracted or made fast with its power the hare which could not escape. As soon as the snake was killed the hare hurriedly made off. The Pimas say that this is a frequent occurrence.

Another little animal found here is called *salamanqueza*. It resembles a lizard but its feet are round like little roses. Its bite is more poisonous than that of any other animal. There is said to be no remedy for its poison. It frequented the houses and walls of my other mission, Comuripa. This was the reason for my insistence before the visitor general on the need for another missionary. Because of the great distance separating the missions I could not alone properly take care of Comuripa. The father provincial and the viceroy will consider the matter.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Owing to page limitations several pages on the more ordinary animals, birds, and fish will appear in a later number.)

Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697

(Continued from April)

II

Cadillac left Montreal for Michilimackinac on September 24, 1694; owing to bad weather, however, he had only proceeded some sixty miles up the Ottawa River by October 6. Seeing that his men were unwilling to go farther, he continued his journey with five Frenchmen and two Indians. He was sorry afterwards that he had let most of the men of his convoy return to Montreal, for the rest of the voyage was "frightful on account of the quantity of floating ice in the great lakes which we had to cross."¹ This must have been an unusual year, for as a rule there are no ice floes at the beginning of October either in the Ottawa River or in the Great Lakes. We know that he did not have to cross any of the Great Lakes, for he followed the ordinary route debouching in Georgian Bay, then through the North Channel to Michilimackinac, where he probably arrived toward the end of October or in the first week of November.

In her biography of Cadillac, Agnes Laut has the following: "Cadillac's experiences at Mackinac from 1694 to 1698 [*i. e.*, 1697] are so terse as to be almost a blank. As he wrote, 'I am warrior, not writer.' The few reports he did send were either in cipher or carried by Napoleon to Russia and there lost."² Although one must be prepared to meet with astounding statements in this biography of Cadillac, the above passage is one of the most amazing. First of all, in spite of his contrary assertion, Cadillac was a good writer, and a very bad warrior. Secondly, he never wrote a single report in cipher. Thirdly, Napoleon's reasons for carrying Cadillac's

¹ Cadillac to Lagny, August 3, 1695, AC, C 111E, 14:10. On the translation of this letter in Sheldon, *Early History of Michigan*, see *supra*, p. 110, note 4. "He was obliged to leave in this town [Montreal] the best part of his convoy on account of bad weather, for the season was already far advanced. He pursued his way with a few lightened canoes, placing six men in each, in order to reach his post sooner." Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 111A, 13:382v. Monseignat gives a third version, NYCD, IX, 594.

² A. C. Laut, *Cadillac: Knight Errant of the Wilderness, Founder of Detroit, Governor of Louisiana from the Great Lakes to the Gulf*, Indianapolis, 1931, 104.

reports on the American West to Russia—of all places—may be known to Agnes Laut, but to no one else.

It is obvious that the archives were not consulted in writing this "life" of Cadillac, notwithstanding the repeated assertions that the author went to the sources. In the following pages we shall see whether Cadillac's experiences at Michilimackinac were "almost a blank," and whether Napoleon carried his reports to Moscow and lost them there.

We may note in passing that similar statements are too often indulged in by many a writer on the French régime in North America. There could be no objection to such flights of imagination, were a clear distinction made between their romantic fancies and the facts that can be gathered from valid evidence. Instead, writers posing as authorities on the subject claim in book reviews and articles that they learn nothing new from works which are based exclusively on contemporary evidence. In fact, it savors of impertinence even so much as to suggest that they need to learn anything at all.

Less than five months after his arrival Cadillac was at war with the Jesuits, the occasion being a sermon preached by Father Pinet on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1695. It is to this sermon that Carheil alludes in his letter to Champigny from which we quoted at the end of the preceding article.³ The story as found in the *procès-verbal* shows that Cadillac was a true son of a seventeenth-century *avocat en Parlement*.

On March 25, 1695, Cadillac went to the Jesuit chapel at Michilimackinac and remained there after benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to hear the sermon of Father Pinet. Toward the middle of the sermon, the preacher "clearly and distinctly said that there were here [Michilimackinac] Frenchmen whose conduct with Indian women was scandalous. It was a shame, he said, to see women visiting certain houses at every hour of the night, and he added that this was a matter of public knowledge."

On leaving the chapel, Cadillac called in one Belhumeur, the sergeant responsible for the police of the post, and asked him whether he had known that any soldier of the garrison led a dissolute life, or was guilty of "scandalous disorders with Indian women." Belhumeur answered that he had no such knowledge and vouched for the good lives led by the soldiers of the post "since our [Cadillac's] arrival here."

³ *Supra*, p. 130.

"Ten or twelve days later," Cadillac investigated the rumor and found that it had originated with one Jolicoeur, who had heard it from a servant of the Jesuits; Jolicoeur had jokingly accused one La Violette of consorting once with an Indian woman. The accusation, says Cadillac, was false, and it was the rumormonger himself who was guilty.

Cadillac also inquired from Pierre d'Ailleboust, *Sieur d'Argenteuil*, the lieutenant at Michilimackinac, whether he was aware of the disorders mentioned by Pinet in his sermon. He too said that he had no knowledge of them; and yet, because of the small number of Frenchmen who spent the winter at the post, as also because they were all living in the proximity of the fort, if there had been any such disorders, everyone would have known about them. In spite of making further inquiries, the commandant could find no trace of disorderly conduct among the French at Michilimackinac.

On the following day, Cadillac told Father Nouvel that the complaints mentioned in the sermon had no foundation whatever, and that he "could not understand why the Reverend Father Pinet had preached as he did." Cadillac then goes on to say that as far as he was concerned the matter would have ended there, and on taking leave, he asked Father Nouvel to let him know of any scandal, so that he, in conformity to the orders he had received from Frontenac, might put an end to it.

Nouvel, however, did not curb Pinet's "indiscret zeal," for after the sermon on Sunday, March 27, the same Father told the congregation to remain in their seats and said: "It has been reported to me that people found fault with my sermon on the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady. I have, however, said nothing which I am not ready to repeat, and I do not feel that I need to justify myself." Pinet's reason for preaching as he did was that people had reported to him the goings-on at Michilimackinac. Moreover, he said, he himself was not blind, and he could see what was taking place around him. Let those who feel guilty apply the rebuke to themselves; as for himself, he had no intention of making any further apology.⁴

One reason, Cadillac tells us, for drawing up the *procès-verbal* in which all this is narrated, was to avoid walking into any trap which the Jesuits might set to catch "the commandants of this post."

⁴ *Procès-verbal* of March 29, 1695, BN, Clairambault, 882:139-141.

Another reason was to prove to the governor how relentless, he, Cadillac, was in suppressing scandals.

After Pinet's second sermon, the commandant called in a dozen soldiers and asked them whether they knew anything about "infamous misconduct and scandalous public disorders." They unanimously answered that "since the arrival of M. de Lamothe" they had no knowledge whatever of any disorders either by themselves or from hearsay.

On Monday, March 28, Fathers Nouvel and Pinet called on the commandant and assured him that Father Pinet had meant no personal offense to him by what he said in his sermon.

Further light on this incident is to be had from the following passage, which occurs in a series of extracts taken by Frontenac from a diary kept by Cadillac at Michilimackinac. The passage forms part of a report sent by Frontenac to Lagny, Cadillac's protector in France:

From the ninth article of the *exposé*, it is easy to see that Father Nouvel acknowledged the public fault of Father Pinet, since the superior brought him to me to justify himself. I then asked for a written declaration to the effect that he had inadvertently said in his sermon that there were scandalous disorders. They both promised that they would give such a declaration.⁵

The *exposé* here referred to is a summary of the various incidents connected with Father Pinet's two sermons. In the ninth article, it is said that after the two Jesuits had assured Cadillac that he was not implicated,

there was an exchange of views, which ended by the two Fathers agreeing that this preacher [Pinet] would give in writing to this commandant a declaration which would satisfy him and would fully exonerate him. This commandant was quite willing to wait for this declaration, at the convenience of this Father [Pinet].⁶

We thus have two different interpretations of the visit of Fathers Nouvel and Pinet. In the original there is no question of Pinet's being brought to the commandant to justify himself, but simply to assure Cadillac that whatever he had said in his sermon, did not imply that the commandant was remiss in the performance of his duty, in the suppression of scandals and disorders. The

⁵ Extrait de certains articles tires du journal enuoyé a M. le Comte de Frontenac par M. de Lamothe Cadillac, commandant à Michilimackinac du mois d'aoust 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:15.

⁶ Exposé fait aux Reverends Peres Jesuites de Michilimackinac estant priez dy repondre en Dieu et conscience et suiuant les lumieres du St. Esprit, April 17, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:7.

reason for the difference is that between the date of the *exposé*, April 17, and the sending of his journal to Frontenac at the beginning of the following August, Cadillac had clashed with the Jesuits over the brandy question. It is not surprising, therefore, that he noticed in the facts connected with the episode of the sermons quite a number of peculiarities which had at first escaped his "rare penetration."

On Tuesday, May 29, the four missionaries who were then at Michilimackinac went to pay their respects to Cadillac. When taking their leave, they said that they would be in retreat for the rest of the week, "which led this commandant to think that they doubtless did not want to remember the written declaration" which had been promised him.

At the beginning of the following week, Cadillac again went and reminded Nouvel of the promised declaration. On his way from the fort to the house of the missionaries he met a "very intelligent and very learned" Jesuit [Father Binneteau], to whom he mentioned the purpose of his visit. Binneteau told the commandant that no written declaration could be given, because the scandals which Pinet referred to were public scandals in the Huron village, and were known to be such by the missionaries, although not by the French.⁷

In the journal sent to Frontenac, Cadillac says that this "philosophical distinction" between scandals in general and "public scandals" was the result of discussions and deliberation on the part of the four Jesuits. He thought, he says in the *exposé*, that he had been patient enough, and that the philosophical distinction was very weak, considering "the keenness of these fertile minds." Thereupon, he again summoned the French soldiers of the post, who testified that they had no knowledge of public scandals, and that everything in the *procès-verbal*, which Cadillac once more read to them, was true.

Shortly afterwards I went to confession to Father Nouvel, who did not want to give me absolution. He claimed that I changed [in the *procès-verbal*] certain words of the preacher and had made additions, and that someone had reported this to him. This was merely a supposition of his, for I had really changed nothing in the deposition of the witnesses. Upon my saying that I was not conscious of any guilt in this respect, he told me to burn the *procès-verbal*, which I refused to do. Seeing that he persisted in his unwillingness to give me absolution, I left the confessional. My reasons are stated in the case of conscience, which the Sieur [Jacques Arrivé

⁷ *Exposé* . . . , *ibid.*, 7v.

dit] Delisle certifies having brought to them, but they refused to answer it.⁸

The questions proposed in the "case of conscience" are as follows. May a confessor refuse absolution to a penitent for a sin not mentioned in confession? If, however, upon being asked by the confessor about this sin [the additions, alterations of certain words of the *procès-verbal*], the penitent answers that he is not conscious of any guilt in this respect, may the confessor endeavor to convince the penitent that he has actually committed this sin and that in coming to confession he is committing a sacrilege? Furthermore, after the penitent has repeatedly examined his conscience with regard to this particular sin, and has found that he has not committed it, must he confess this sin as though he had committed it? Finally, if the confessor is told by the penitent that his conscience is clear with regard to this particular sin, may the confessor tell the penitent that he is scandalized? Is it not better in such circumstances to leave the confessional in order not to give further scandal?

If the facts are such as narrated by Cadillac in this "case of conscience," Father Nouvel was clearly at fault. The principles of moral theology demand that the confessor believe the penitent, especially when the latter repeatedly asserts that he cannot in conscience admit having committed the sin of which he is accused by the confessor. We say "if the facts are such as narrated by Cadillac," because while the latter could say and write anything he wished about what had taken place in the confessional, Father Nouvel could not under any circumstances correct the commandant's version. Cadillac knew quite well that because of the seal of confession, he could say what he liked without fear of contradiction.

It is true [says Cadillac in his journal] that they gave me every imaginable satisfaction with regard to the two sermons, except that I could never wring from them the promised declaration worded as I had requested. Father Pinet, who had at first been ordered to remain here, received a counter-order from his superior.⁹ He is leaving now with Father Binneteau for the Illinois country. Father Nouvel maintains that I should be sufficiently satisfied.

By this time the Jesuits of Michilimackinac had realized that Cadillac would always find a way of proving his point, no matter what they themselves might say or write. We shall see many ex-

⁸ Extrait de certains articles . . . , *ibid.*, 15-15v.

⁹ A simple consideration of the dates shows that there is no causal relation between the sermon and the counter-order. The implied blame existed only in Cadillac's imagination; it flattered his vanity to think that he was instrumental in the removal of Father Pinet.

amples of this technique during the years immediately following the founding of Detroit. To give him the declaration "avec les clauses que je demandois" would be tantamount to giving him carte blanche. Armed with such a document, he could insist that any subsequent disorders or abuses which the missionaries complained about, were just as imaginary as those mentioned by Pinet in his sermon. As will be shown presently, whenever proofs of misconduct were brought to his attention, Cadillac refused to accept them because they were not "convincing."

The incidents in connection with the sermons of Father Pinet were merely a skirmish. The real battle was fought over the sale of brandy to the Indians. Cadillac wrote in his journal: "With regard to matters of conscience, principally with regard to the [sale of] brandy, it is certain that we (*on*) are very much restricted here. For once these two Fathers [Nouvel and Carheil] have made up their mind about something, they never let go."

As a proof of Carheil's stubbornness, Cadillac tells the following story. A man by the name of Dubau [Dubosc], who had sold brandy to the Indians, received absolution on condition that he give an alms of 600 livres to the church. While the man agreed to give this alms, he wanted to distribute it as he pleased. As Carheil refused to permit this, Dubosc appealed to Nouvel. It was finally settled that 200 livres were to be given to the church, and 200 livres to the most needy among the Indians, the remaining 200 livres were to be distributed as Dubosc saw fit. Cadillac ends his story by saying: "It is said (*on dit*) that there are others who had to pay twenty *pistoles*. This is the lightest penance."

The money which Dubosc and others had to pay in such cases was not a "fine," nor was it a "penance," but it was, as Cadillac himself calls it in an ungarded moment, a "restitution." In confessing sins against justice, a person must promise to make restitution, and unless he fulfills this promise, the absolution which he receives will have no effect. The money was a compensation for the injustice done to the Indians. Father Le Clercq emphasizes this point quite clearly:

You will please note that they [the brandy peddlers] make them [Indians] drunk for the very purpose of more easily cheating these poor barbarians, who are then deprived of the use of reason, and they do this in order to have their pelts for almost nothing. If the Indians were in their right mind [*i. e.*, sober], they would not sell their pelts except for a just and reasonable price. Such trade is fraudulent, and [those who engage in it] are obliged to make restitution in proportion to the true market value of the merchandise. When these barbarians are drunk, they

have neither the freedom nor the judgment to make a [valid] contract, the essence of which requires free and mutual consent on the part of the vendor and of the buyer.¹⁰

Therefore, when Father de Carheil ordered Dubosc to pay 600 livres, it was because Dubosc himself had estimated that he had defrauded the Indians of that amount; and in telling the penitent that the restitution must be made to the church, the confessor was obeying an ordinance of Saint-Vallier dated October 31, 1690. After having implored God's help, says the bishop,

We thought that as a means of stopping drunkenness, the confessors should not give absolution to those who make Indians or Frenchmen drunk, unless they make over to needy churches, to hospitals, or to other works of mercy, according to the advice of the confessor, all the profit derived from such traffic, allowing them to retain only the cost of the liquor, so that they may pay the merchants [who had sold it to them]; by the obligation which we thus impose on confessors of giving such a penance to those who out of greediness seek the perdition of souls, we let tavern keepers and others who sell liquor know that they must make a moderate use of the freedom given them to engage in such trade, which is only allowed insofar as they themselves are certain of the use made of this liquor.¹¹

After the departure of Fathers Pinet and Binneteau, Nouvel and Carheil renewed their complaints to Cadillac with regard to one Beauvais and asked the commandant to send him back to Montreal. "I told them that I did not see that the accusations against this man were at all proved." The woman with whom Beauvais had been living at Michilimackinac had left for Montreal, and he had assured Cadillac that there would be no more complaints about his conduct. "I told them that I found it strange that they kept after this man, and that the only reason for this which I could see, was that he was attached to my service, but that I was determined in spite of everything to keep him here until I was convinced of his guilt."¹²

While visiting Cadillac on this occasion, Carheil accused him of permitting the brandy trade and of shutting his eyes to the scandalous conduct of the French with Indian women, all of which was against the orders of the king. "I answered him that I would carry out the orders of my superiors, and that I knew my job (*métier*) too well to change or modify them in any way." Cadillac carefully avoided mentioning the ordinances of the king which forbade the

¹⁰ C. Le Clercq, *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie*, Paris, 1691, 427.

¹¹ H. Têtu and C. O. Gagnon, eds., *Mandements, Lettres pastorales et circulaires des Evêques de Québec*, I, Québec, 1887, 268.

¹² Extrait de certains articles, . . . , AC, C 11E, 14:16.

sale of brandy to the Indians in the distant posts. Instead, he referred to the "orders of his superiors," that is, to the ordinance which Frontenac had told him to promulgate at Michilimackinac.¹³ It was only natural that he would not wish to change or alter its provisions, still less replace it by that of Champigny which was drawn according to the king's instructions, for the spurious ordinance enabled him to sell brandy as freely as he wished.

It is only fair to observe, that, although the ordinance served him well, Cadillac, as a mere subaltern, had to obey his superior officer, namely, Frontenac. The latter, therefore, was ultimately responsible for this disobedience to the king's instructions with regard to the sale of brandy to the Indians.

As for the *métier* which he knew so well, one wonders in what military academy he had learned it. It can hardly be maintained that privateering on the Atlantic coast or being a foreman of a dozen workers for a few weeks at Port Royal was the best preparation for commanding a frontier outpost, and for learning how to deal with the Indians.¹⁴

We read in the extracts from the journal that when Cadillac told about having orders from his superiors,

He [Carheil] told me that I must obey God and not the temporal powers when they ordered something contrary to the law of God; that the permission to sell brandy was opposed to the designs of God; that the knowledge I had or ought to have, of its being opposed to the will of God, necessarily obliged me not to obey the temporal powers when they allowed the brandy trade; that since it was the will of God to take the brandy away from the Indians, and since the will of the Indians was to drink brandy in order to get drunk, I ought not to go against the will of God and bow to that of the Indians. They have no right to drink brandy, because the beavers do not belong to them but to God, who gives them to the Indians in order to be made use of, not that they may buy brandy. Consequently, since I knew that the Indians were putting the beaver pelts to bad use, I might not permit to exchange them for brandy, no matter what orders I had received from my superiors.

I answered that his speech reeked of sedition from a distance of a hundred paces, and I asked him to change his tune. He repeated that I was not executing the orders of the king and that I was giving myself important airs. In truth, when I heard him say this, I too became heated. I took him by the arm and put him out of the fort, calling him a seditious man and a rebel, for the fine lecture he had given me.

As in the case of the confessional episode, we have no other

¹³ *Supra*, 129.

¹⁴ "Cadillac's Early Years in America," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 11, 24.

evidence than Cadillac's own word for all this. Upon the departure of Father Pinet, Carheil had stepped into the breach. In his sermons he inveighed against the disorders which occurred "on the shore of Michilimackinac, so notorious for the brandy trade which is carried on here" and for all the consequent infamies, thereby insinuating, says Cadillac, that

the commandant tolerates the disorders and that they leave him unconcerned. He is the most violent, the most rebellious, the most seditious man I know. He has exasperated me hundreds of times, in the hope, I think, that I would strike him, but I have always despised his babbling. Two days before the departure of the convoy [for Montreal] he came and told me that I was not executing the orders of the king, and shaking his fist under my nose, said that I was putting on important airs which did not sit me well. I admit, Sir, that I almost forgot that he was a priest. I was about to break his jaw, but instead, thank God, I took him by the arm, pushed him out of the fort and told him never to come back.

It often happens also that these Fathers preach against drunkenness and scandal with the Host in their hands, which appears quite extraordinary to everyone here, and I believe that this is the only place where it is done.¹⁵

Rochemonteix, who took the narrative of the fist-shaking incident from Margry's abridged account, asked whether it is believable that a "man who left in Canada the reputation of a saint" would forget himself in such a manner and act in so undignified way. "This is scarcely a recognizable picture of Father de Carheil, who was a man of strong character, frank to the point of being rude, but always master of himself and respectful of authority."¹⁶ Margry himself, says Rochemonteix, warned the reader that Carheil's descriptions of the disorders at Michilimackinac in his letter of 1702 should not be believed outright any more than what Cadillac wrote about the missionaries.¹⁷ As we have already remarked, we have no other evidence than these extracts made from the commandant's journal under the direction of Frontenac, and Cadillac so often changes or twists the facts, or invents them when it suits his purpose, that his unsupported testimony is practically worthless. In this particular instance, however, when we consider Carheil's habitual intransigence, and remember that the work of the missionaries among the Indians was being made useless by an adventurer who wanted to get rich quickly by selling brandy, his reaction as described by Cadillac can be accepted as substantially true.

The extracts from Cadillac's letter and journal were enclosed

¹⁵ Extraits de certains articles . . . , AC, C 11E, 14-17-17v.

¹⁶ *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, III, 488, note 4.

¹⁷ Margry, V, cii.

with a long letter of Frontenac to Lagny. After complaining of Ruelle d'Auteuil, of Villeray, of Champigny, of the members of the Sovereign Council, and of nearly every public official in New France, the governor proceeds to give his version of Cadillac's first ten months at Michilimackinac.

This year, poor M. de Lamothe Cadillac would have to send you a journal in order to acquaint you with all the persecutions he underwent at the post where I sent him and where he is doing wonders, having acquired much influence over the Indians who love and fear him. But he did not have time to make a copy of this journal in order to send it to you. I am forwarding a letter of his addressed to you and another addressed to M. de Pontchartrain. I have had extracts made from letters which he wrote to me, in which there are some facts which will no doubt appear unbelievable.

Only two months ago, the Fathers of Michilimackinac sent me a marvelous account of him, calling him the wisest man, the most prudent, and the most opposed to disorders, whom I could ever send to that part of the country. Whether they have [since] found that he was too clever and too keen, I do not know; anyway, they have decided to change their tune, and now he is no longer suitable to them. Finally, by means of open intrigues, they (*on*) have found a way of stirring up against him three or four officers who were in posts depending on his. These officers upbraided him in such an extraordinary and unheard of manner that I was obliged to put them in jail when they came back here. I set them free only a few days ago, although they assuredly deserved a longer punishment.

One Father Carheil, a Jesuit, who wrote to me such insolent letters a few years ago, played an astonishing part in all this. I shall write briefly to the Reverend Father de la Chaise about him so that he may take care of the matter. The superiors here are full of promises that they will send the necessary orders, but thus far I have seen no results. If, however, such a state of affairs goes on, some remedy will have to be applied, for it would be impossible for officers to remain at Michilimackinac, among the Miami, the Illinois, or elsewhere, because they are persecuted, their conscience constrained, and are refused absolution as soon as they do not do everything that is required. With regard to absolution, there are even shameful transactions going on out there. M. de Tonti would have written to you about this, except for the fact that to free himself from all these torments he was forced to go to the country of the Assiniboin. He left M. de la Forest [in charge] during his absence, and the latter, for all his ability and his moderation, will find it quite difficult to succeed.

If M. de Lamothe is attacked, between now and next year, when he will be able to send you an exact and detailed account of all that has happened, he will need your support. You must come out boldly and say that he is doing his duty very well. I did not think that I had to mention the above matters to M. de Pontchartrain, because I do not know whether they will dare to bring them up openly. Rather, according to all appearances, they will act covertly. I have therefore simply told M. de Pontchartrain that he [Cadillac] is discharging his duty very well. The extraordinary kindness which you showed him while he was in France

[in 1692-1693],¹⁸ makes me trust that you still remember what you said, namely, that you hope to obtain a naval lieutenancy for him. He assuredly merits it, for he is clever, very courageous, and very talented.¹⁹

Before examining some statements in this passage, we must first note that Frontenac speaks of extracts which he had made from the letters which Cadillac had sent to him. However, the title of the document which has come down to us reads as follows: "Extracts of certain articles from the journal sent to M. the Count of Frontenac by M. de Lamothe Cadillac." It must also be noted that we do not have Cadillac's letters of that year to the governor, which very probably contained an elaboration of the entries in the journal. Finally, a distinction should be made between Frontenac's comments on the contents of Cadillac's letters, and the contents themselves, which in some cases does not appear very clearly.

For instance, we do not know whether Frontenac is repeating what the commandant had written, or whether he is drawing a conclusion when he says that the Indians love and fear Cadillac. We are not considering the queer pairing of these two emotions toward Cadillac which are supposed to exist in the breast of the Indians, for love and fear of a person do not usually go together. If there is one thing of which we are certain, it is that wherever Cadillac went he soon succeeded in making himself cordially hated by the Indians.

As for their fear, the Hurons were not afraid to send a delegation to the Seneca in order to make peace between the western Indians and the Iroquois, independently of the wishes of the French. The Iroquois in turn sent a delegation to Michilimackinac, bringing along two Ottawa prisoners as a token of their sincerity.²⁰ And all of this went on before the very eyes of M. de Lamothe who was unable to put a stop to it. In the postscript of this very letter to Lagny, Frontenac says that after he had written it, he received news from M. de Lamothe "which worries me a little [that is, a good deal], because the Hurons are alienated from us and they wish all the other nations to make peace with the Iroquois independently of me. This is a situation of the utmost importance which, if possible, must be remedied, as I have already begun to do and will

¹⁸ Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 45; "Cadillac's Early Years in America," *ibid.*, XXVI, 1944, 36-37.

¹⁹ Frontenac to Lagny, November 2, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:325v-326v; printed in *RAPQ*, 1929, 267-268. Margry, V, 62-64, dates the extract from this letter, October 2, 1695.

²⁰ Cf. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13: 385-385v.

continue. You will see all this narrated in detail in my long relation,²¹ and from the letter which the said Sieur de Lamothe is sending to M. de Pontchartrain you will learn more particularly what determined the Indians to take this pernicious step."²² To the minister Frontenac wrote that the "Sieur de Lamothe did everything to prevent the [Iroquois] emissaries from being listened to, but he was unsuccessful."²³

We do not have the letters in which the Jesuits of Michilimackinac sang the praises of Cadillac, as though he were a paragon of all virtues, and consequently we cannot compare what they actually said with what Frontenac says they wrote. Carheil and Nouvel were the only Fathers then at Michilimackinac, and it is difficult to believe that Carheil would subscribe to an eulogy of Cadillac after reproaching him publicly for having not only shut his eyes to the disorders, but for promoting these disorders in his eagerness to sell brandy. The Fathers of Michilimackinac had not found him "too clever or too keen," for when they investigated the cause for the increase of disorders, they found that Cadillac was largely responsible for them.

In his speech to the western Indians at Montreal as reported by La Potherie, Frontenac gives the names of the officers in the West. They were Augustin Le Gardeur de Tilly, Sieur de Courtemanche among the Miami on the St. Joseph River; Nicolas d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Manthet at Chicago; Pierre d'Ailleboust, Sieur d'Argenteuil, Cadillac's lieutenant at Michilimackinac; Jacques Arrivé dit Delisle, sergeant at Michilimackinac; Jean-Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes among the Miami; Pierre You de La Découverte, and Nicolas Perrot among the Marameg, in present-day Bayfield County, Wisconsin.

Frontenac told the Indians that all these officers were subject to Cadillac, and that the latter alone was qualified to interpret his intentions. None of the above was clapped into jail when he returned to Lower Canada. Who then were the insubordinate officers who upbraided Cadillac "in an extraordinary and unheard-of manner"? It is somewhat peculiar, too, that Frontenac does not mention this grave breach of discipline in his letter to the minister. Yet, insubordination toward one "in whom you [the Indians] must

²¹ In the Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1694-1695, NYCD, IX, 610-632.

²² Frontenac to Lagny, November 2, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:329; RAPQ, 1929, 270.

²³ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:292; RAPQ, 1929, 279.

place the same reliance as if your father himself [Frontenac] was addressing you,"²⁴ is a much more serious offence than many of the petty trifles which he reports at length in this same letter.

Commenting on the passage about Father de Carheil's insolent letters, Rochemonteix finds it strange that in his letter of February 21 [April 30], 1690,²⁵ Frontenac does not in the least blame Carheil,²⁶ but that five years later the governor speaks of "insolent letters." Frontenac is not referring to Carheil's letter of 1689, but to those of 1691, in which the governor was told a few unpalatable truths.²⁷

As for the "shameful transactions" in connection with giving absolution, we have already seen what they were. Frontenac could not plead ignorance of the ordinance of the bishop, for it was promulgated at Quebec one year after his arrival there, and was subsequently made known everywhere in New France.

With regard to what Frontenac wrote about Henri Tonti, he either invented the reason why Tonti went to the Assiniboin country, or else he read this reason in one of Cadillac's letters. The real reason why Tonti left Michilimackinac in August, 1695, is given by Cadillac in an autograph letter of the following year; namely, to know as soon as possible the outcome of Iberville's expedition against Port Nelson.²⁸

These few examples should make it clear that it would be rash to accept the testimony of Frontenac or of Cadillac whenever the Jesuits are concerned, especially in what pertains to the brandy trade. The only reason why the Jesuits clashed with the commandant was their opposition to the brandy trade; and not, as is asserted by Farmer and a host of others who claim to have read the "correspondence of the period," because the missionaries meddle with "affairs of state." The brandy trade with the Indians, as practiced by Frontenac, and especially by Cadillac, flouted the moral law, which the missionaries were in duty bound to defend.

In conformity with what he wrote to Lagny, Frontenac makes no mention of the "persecutions" undergone by Cadillac at Michilimackinac in his letter to Pontchartrain. He simply wrote:

The Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac sends me word that he has the honor

²⁴ NYCD, IX, 625. Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, IV, 67.

²⁵ *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, III, 240, note 1.

²⁶ Frontenac to Seignelay, April 30, 1690, RAPQ, 1928, 29-30.

²⁷ *Supra*, 119.

²⁸ Cadillac to [Lagny], [after June 16, 1696], BN, Clairambault, 882:138. The passage is translated in "The Voyages of Tonti in North America, 1678-1704," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 288.

of writing to you to inform you of all that he knows about [the delegation of the Hurons to the Seneca]. What he says agrees with the reports of those who came from out there. Whatever may be said about him he is doing his duty very well; he is wise, prudent, and perhaps keener than might be desired by certain people [the Jesuits, of course] with whom he has to deal. Kindly allow me to support a placet which he is sending to you. I am giving this support because I must bear testimony to truth, and to the services which he is rendering.²⁹

As we have seen, Frontenac wrote that he was forwarding a letter of Cadillac to Lagny together with another letter to Pontchartrain. The last letter does not seem to be extant, but among the extracts from the letters sent to France in 1695 which are now in the official files, there is a summary of a letter of Cadillac. According to this summary, the commandant had written that he was continuing the war against the Iroquois; that he was preparing a relation and a map of all the lakes and rivers of the country; that their own names, the names which they give to the sections of the country in which they dwell, and their customs, make it appear that the western Indians are closely related to the Jews.³⁰

If this résumé is complete, Cadillac did not unburden himself to Pontchartrain, but sent his jeremiads to Lagny. His letter to the latter is summarized and commented upon in the following pages.³¹

Cadillac recounts the difficulties which attended his departure from Montreal in the preceding year. After his arrival at Michilimackinac, according to instructions received from Frontenac, he urged the western Indians to continue the war against the Iroquois. He briefly alludes to what had by now become an obsession with him; namely, the only way of ridding the colony of the Iroquois menace was to conquer New York;³² and then passes to what was uppermost in his mind—the brandy trade.

Far be it from him, he says, to criticize the decision of the Court which forbids transporting brandy to Michilimackinac, but he feels that he must give his opinion in a matter in which the interests of the king are at stake. Michilimackinac, he goes on to say, is not a deserted place, it is one of the largest, and most developed French villages of Canada; hence the same privilege which is granted to

²⁹ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:292v.

³⁰ Le Sr de la Mothe Cadillac, de sa lettre du 16 aoust 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:261v.

³¹ Le Sr de la Mothe Cadillac, au fort de Buade, sur l'Isle [?] de Missilimakina, le 3^e aoust, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:10-13v. Cf. *supra*, p. 110, note 4.

³² Cf. "Cadillac's Early Years in America," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 35-36.

the other French settlements should be granted to Michilimackinac, the privilege of procuring brandy for one's own use.

The few pages devoted to this subject, full of rhetorical questions and exclamations, were a sheer waste of time. The French could drink brandy at Michilimackinac. Each man leaving Lower Canada for the post could take thirteen *pots* for his personal use. An ordinance issued by Frontenac and Champigny to that effect had been promulgated at Montreal in Cadillac's presence in September 1694.³³ It does not seem that he himself cared about brandy, and it was a matter of indifference to him whether the French at the post had any brandy at all, for altruism was not one of Cadillac's main virtues. But he was very much concerned about the sale of brandy to the Indians, which is the theme of the last two thirds of his letter to Lagny.

Why, he asks, cannot the Indians as well as the French drink brandy bought with their own money? Is it to prevent them from getting drunk, or because they will be reduced to extreme poverty, and will be unable to go to war after having deprived themselves of their arms and clothing in order to buy brandy? If these are the reasons that determined the Court to forbid selling brandy to the Indians, these reasons are very false indeed, as anyone who is acquainted with the customs of the Indians will testify. It is forbidden by law, he continues, to give the Indians brandy in exchange for their arms, and when they go to war they do not need any clothes, for they strip themselves naked, and those who can afford it paint themselves black and red from head to foot.

There was, as he says, an ordinance which forbade selling brandy to the Indians in exchange for their arms, but this same ordinance also forbade the selling of liquor in exchange for their clothing, and the penalty for violation was the same in both cases.³⁴ Of course, it would have weakened his case considerably had he quoted the whole ordinance, and he was evidently relying on the fact that Lagny was ignorant of it.

The sale of brandy to the Indians for the pelts which they wore as garments was a crying injustice against which the bishops of Quebec, the diocesan clergy, the Sulpicians and the Jesuits had inveighed for the preceding fifty years. But the "clever, keen witted" Cadillac immediately saw that all the talk about stripping the Indians of

³³ *Supra*, 129.

³⁴ Ordonnance de M. Duchesneau portant deffense aux cabaretiers de traitter des armes et hardes des sauuages et de leur donner des boissons ou de leur prester de l'argent sur ces effets, July 27, 1680, AC, F 3, 5:374.

their clothes was a misrepresentation of facts known to "everyone acquainted with their customs." The bishop and his clergy, the Sulpicians and the Jesuits knew much better than Cadillac that the Indians did not smother themselves in clothes when they went to war; but it was still an injustice to make the Indians drunk in order to exchange their garments of pelts for a fraction of their true value.

The prohibition of transporting brandy to Michilimackinac, Cadillac assures Lagny, has greatly discouraged the French who are there; and the fact that liquor is no longer sold to the Indians has caused a great commotion among the latter. We are then given a speech which the Indian chiefs supposedly made on March 21, 1695. They are reported to have asked Cadillac that brandy be given them, otherwise they would trade their beavers to "Orange or Corlaer [Albany, N. Y.]." It is rather peculiar that a few years earlier these chiefs had energetically protested against brandy being sold at Michilimackinac.³⁵ We are also told that the reason why the Hurons sent envoys to the Seneca at the beginning of July, 1695, was to contact the English through them, so as to make sure that an unlimited amount of liquor would be brought to the West. The main reason why the Hurons wanted to trade with the English, however, was that they would be paid a much higher price for their pelts than they received from the French.

In his letter to Pontchartrain, Frontenac elaborated on this question. The Hurons, he says, are most greedy of all the tribes; it is they who planned the step in order to obtain merchandise from the English at a much cheaper price; and the reason was that in the previous year they had experienced great difficulties in selling their pelts by weight to the monopolists. This was not the real reason either, for if the French had been satisfied with a smaller profit and had supplied the Indians with abundant goods, the western trade would have been unquestionably theirs, and, in the end, they would have made just as great if not greater profits. It is true that the fur trade was controlled by a trust, but surely this does not excuse the traders for cheating the Indians. Moreover, the Hurons went to the Iroquois not because they were the most greedy of all the Indians, but because they belonged to the same linguistic group. They had lived for nearly half a century among Algonquin-speaking tribes, and were the natural intermediaries between the Algonquin and the Iroquois. The accusation of greediness is par-

³⁵ *Supra*, 119.

ticularly inappropriate, because those who made it were incomparably more *intéressés* than the Indians ever could be.

The other reason why the Hurons preferred to trade with the English, wrote Frontenac to Pontchartrain, is because "they would not be bothered by the missionaries about the brandy question, as they are now more than ever before and in the most exasperating manner, in spite of all the remonstrances of the Sieur de Lamothe and of his care to prevent all kinds of disorders. For he does not doubt that the English will abundantly supply the Indians [with brandy], and will leave them full liberty in this matter."³⁶

It never seemed to have occurred to Frontenac—to say nothing of Cadillac, who seems to have had very rudimentary notions of right or wrong when his interests were at stake—that, even if there had been no public disorders, the moral law forbids a vendor to take advantage of the drunkenness of a buyer in order to cheat him. Even if the English had imitated the French in this respect, two wrongs do not make a right. As for saving Canada for France by unrestricted sale of liquor to the Indians, everyone knows that the final conquest of Canada was not effected by English rum.

According to Cadillac, the Indians relish their beggary, and ask for nothing better than to be left in their misery and to die in their wretchedness. Hence, there can be no harm in making them more miserable by selling them brandy.

Up to this point, except for vague references to "on" and "some people," Cadillac has said nothing about the missionaries, but at the end of his letter to Lagny he deals with the last objection thus:

It will perhaps be said that the sale of brandy makes the labors of the missionaries fruitless. This proposition must be distinguished. If it means the labors for the increase of their trade which these missionaries have always been carrying on, I concede the proposition. If it means that the sale of brandy hinders or is an obstacle to the progress of religion or the knowledge of God, I deny the proposition. For it is an undeniable fact that a great number of Indians who never drink brandy are not, on that account, better Christians.

Have all the Sioux, who are most numerous, have all those Indians in the Lake Superior region, who do not want so much as a sniff of brandy, made greater progress in religion on this account? They do not even want to hear about [the Christian] religion, and only laugh at it. Yet books and tomes are boldly flung before the eyes of Europeans, which speak of nothing else except the conversions, thousands of them, in this country, and the poor missionaries running to martyrdom as flies run to sugar and honey.

³⁶ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1695, RAPQ, 1929, 279.

I, for one, who am an eyewitness of all that is taking place here, do not believe that I shall ever be inclined to write in such a vein.

This interesting passage of Cadillac's letter to Lagny is deserving of comment. The *nego* of the scholastic distinction is particularly ridiculous, for it comes to saying that because some Indians do not like brandy, therefore brandy is not an obstacle to their conversion. Cadillac's scholarly training, of which recent writers make so much, does not seem to have included simple logic.

The *concedo* of the distinction contains Cadillac's earliest positive statement that the Jesuits were engaged in trade. But why is his accusation so indefinite, after nearly a year in the West? Could it be that the "clever and keen" commandant had no evidence of their trading, and merely repeated the general accusation current among a certain coterie in New France? It would seem that, if the Jesuits had actually been engaged in trade in the West, a man whose observation nothing escaped should have been able, in ten months' time, to find some clear, specific instances of such trade. Duly authenticated *procès-verbaux* on the matter would have been much more effectual than all his letters, reports, and memoirs. This general statement affords a good example of how reliable Cadillac is; for a few years later he admitted that the Jesuits did not engage in trade in their missions.³⁷

The "books and tomes" referred to at the end of the above quotation are the *Jesuit Relations*. Either Cadillac never opened those tomes which were "flung before" his eyes, or if he did, he spoke against his better knowledge. For the one thing which strikes the reader of the *Jesuit Relations* is the small number of conversions therein recounted. Although the second alternative is not intrinsically impossible, in the present case, the first alternative happens to be correct; Cadillac never opened those "books and tomes flung before" his eyes. He is either parroting what his Quebec patron had written twenty years earlier³⁸ or repeating what he may have read in the pseudo-Le Clercq.³⁹

No Jesuit ever wrote any *Relations* such as Cadillac described, but a few years later he himself wrote such a fanciful "eyewitness" description of Detroit that, although the younger Pontchartrain would have been satisfied if the settlement had been only a fraction as thriving and prosperous as depicted in Cadillac's "eyewitness"

³⁷ Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MHS, 33:148.

³⁸ Frontenac and the Jesuits, 20 ff.

³⁹ C. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and trans., 2 vols., New York, 1881, I, 381-382, 399-401.

relation, the minister could not bring himself to believe his fairy tale.⁴⁰

The comment about "the missionaries running to martyrdom as flies run to sugar and honey" is rather out of place coming from one who has given so few proofs of physical courage. Did Cadillac write in this fashion because he realized his deficiencies in this respect? Or was it because the fearlessness of the Jesuit missionaries was a by-word in New France? or is it because "they had fallen, one after another, on the field of honor under the tomahawks of the Iroquois"?⁴¹

Before the 1696 abolition of all *congés* became known in the West, Cadillac had news to send from Michilimackinac. At the close of 1695, Iroquois deputies had been received by the Indians of the Lake Superior region, belts had been given and accepted, and peace was all but concluded. The Iroquois left the West on October 10, 1695, after holding several councils with the western Indians, to which councils Cadillac was not invited. However, he learned the outcome of these deliberations from Onaské, chief of the Kishkikon. A few days after the departure of the Iroquois deputies, a band of western Indians returned from Montreal thoroughly disgusted with the French. They described in graphic terms the powerlessness of the French, and gave out that "they were returning with their old shirts and—what grieved them more—without having had a drink."⁴²

The above and the following details are taken from a relation by Monseignat, who further wrote that Cadillac pacified the disgruntled Indians as best he could, and won over two Indian chiefs. In the general council held on October 24, 1695, these chiefs persuaded their fellow tribesmen to go to war against the Iroquois. Before they left, however, Cadillac had to comply with their wish to have two Frenchmen accompany them, and had to "give them a little brandy," otherwise it would have been impossible to get them to start.

The war party finally left, met an Iroquois band, routed it, and brought some thirty prisoners and the booty to Michilimackinac. After this *coup de main* there was no prospect of immediate peace between the western Indians and the Iroquois. Cadillac, says Monseignat, is to be thanked for all this. But, he asks, what will

⁴⁰ Pontchartrain's marginal comments on Cadillac's letter of September 25, 1702, AC, C 11A, 20:130.

⁴¹ E. Salone, *La civilisation de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, n. d., 105.

⁴² NCYD, IX, 645. Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, III, 261.

happen when no one will be at Michilimackinac to safeguard the trade relations with the West, to foil the designs of the English, and to prevent the alliance of the western Indians with the Iroquois? Unless merchandise is sent to the West, the Indians will go to the English, who are not so far distant as the French, who sell their goods much more cheaply and who will supply the Indians with all the liquor they wish. When this happens "will the missionaries be in security in their new churches; and, how fervent soever be the zeal with which they are animated, will they dare preach the Catholic religion in sight of Protestants? Even though they would, will the latter permit them?"

Monseignat ends this section of his relation by saying: "Public interests have required this digression which is long, 'tis true, but too short for the importance of the subject. Those who read this Narrative are at liberty to make such reflections on it as they will think fit."

The above narrative is merely a paraphrase of two letters of Cadillac, one to Pontchartrain, the other to Lagny, from which we shall presently quote at length. Before taking the "liberty to make such reflections on this digression as we think fit," we shall observe first, that when Monseignat wrote his narrative he knew that all *congés* were abolished; secondly, we shall note how Pontchartrain regarded the sending of merchandise to the West. The minister wrote advising that the western Indians be the middleman between their more distant fellows and the French. "The English," he said, "do not go to trade in the interior. They leave that to the Indians themselves, and wait for them in New York or in New England." The authorities in Paris knew that objections would be raised by those who were making huge profits carrying on this internal trade against the king's ordinances.⁴³

As soon as brandy, which was the principal medium of exchange, could no longer be shipped to Michilimackinac, and when Frontenac realized that he would not longer be able to help his hangers-on by giving them trade-permits, he no longer wished to keep the fort as a means of occupying the West. Hence he did not care whether the western Indians would ally themselves with Iroquois or would transfer their allegiance to the English. And when it became clear to Cadillac, a year later, that with the abolition of *congés* the brandy traffic would virtually cease in the West, he refused to return to his post at the fort.

⁴³ Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 28, 1697, NYCD, IX, 662-663.

In the meantime, on returning from their raid against the Iroquois, the Indians asked for some brandy to celebrate their success.

The Sieur de Lamothe was under the necessity then of ordering ten *pots* to be distributed among those who had returned from that expedition. It was but little among two hundred men who were so very dry, and unused to drink. They found means to get some more from the French and sang through the night, but there was no disorder. The missionaries, however, found fault, and complained of it to the Sieur de Lamothe who answered that the action the Indians had achieved ought to serve as their excuse; if a little hilarity grieve you so much, how will you be able to endure the daily exposure of these neophytes, for whom you feel so much affection, to the excessive use of English rum and to the imbibing of heresy.⁴⁴

La Potherie, who was not one of Cadillac's defenders, wrote: "I believe, Sir, that the reward went a little too far; at least the Jesuits were not pleased."⁴⁵ It is unnecessary to remark that Carheil was not thundering against the "ten *pots* to two hundred men" given in December, but against the unlimited sale of brandy that had gone on since the arrival of the commandant at Michilimackinac.

D'Argenteuil, Cadillac's lieutenant, arrived in Quebec with despatches from Michilimackinac toward the end of October, 1695. He returned the following June with the news that Frontenac had invited the western Indians to join the expedition against the Iroquois planned for the summer of 1696. Onaské, the Kishkakon chief whom Cadillac had won over in 1695, pleaded that he "was under the necessity of repairing his fort to place his women and children under cover. The other chiefs answered in like manner." Cadillac continued his urging and wrote that he "expected" at least four hundred Indians to proceed to Fort Frontenac where they would join the invading army.⁴⁶ But a recent feud between the Ottawas and the Hurons "combined with visions of some among them [Indians] who announced in their village that the bad weather which prevailed was evidence that Jesus disapproved of their going to war. It appeared very extraordinary that these Indians, who invoke this sacred name so seldom and hold it capriciously in veneration, should make use of it merely to justify their disloyalty."

⁴⁴ Monseignat's narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada, 1695-1696, NYCD, IX, 648. On this translation, see *supra*, 125, note 50.

⁴⁵ La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, III, 267.

⁴⁶ Only "a few Ottawa" took part in the expedition, NYCD, IX, 650. "Nous avons été assez heureux que les Outaouas n'aient eu aucune part dans cette expédition, ce qui fait connaître à nos ennemis que nous sommes en état de leur faire la guerre de nous mêmes, et à nos alliés que nous pourrions nous passer d'eux, cela doit nous rendre redoutables aux uns et aux autres." Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 320.

We are then told that two days before the governor left Quebec for the Iroquois country, a boy went to Frontenac saying that he came from Boston, where he had seen Iberville burnt at the stake, and that an English fleet had sailed for Quebec. They discovered that the "boy" was a girl and that by her warning she hoped to stop the expedition in which her brother and her sweetheart were to take part. "It is not at all likely that a girl would have adopted so bold a trick of her own mere notion."⁴⁷

The implication is clear. For just as the girl did not "adopt so bold a trick of her own mere notion," so somebody must have prompted the Indians of Michilimackinac to invoke the sacred name as a cloak for their disloyalty. This pious subterfuge may indeed have been employed by the Michilimackinac Indians, but it was only an excuse for which they did not need to be prompted by anybody. They remembered quite well what had happened on two previous occasions when they had gone to the help of their "protectors." In 1684, they left the West for Fort Frontenac, only to be told when they arrived at Niagara to go home quietly, for the war was over and peace had been signed. In 1687, after going with Denonville to the Iroquois country, they were disgusted to find themselves waging war "against corn and canoes." The chief who had done most to persuade his fellow tribesmen to raid the Iroquois in 1695, was now opposed to the expedition. Besides, the Hurons and the Ottawa were suspicious of each other, owing to the treacherous killing of the son of The Rat and of some Huron women by an Ottawa party. Neither tribe felt safe in leaving their women and children at the mercy of the other. These facts, rather than the machinations of the Jesuits, were the reasons why the western Indians refused to join Frontenac's expedition.

This expedition, which was intended to wipe out the Iroquois, was not very different from the expedition led by Denonville nine years earlier.⁴⁸ After twelve days in the Iroquois country, Frontenac returned to Quebec, where he found the king's order abolishing all *congés*.

You were right (Frontenac wrote to Langy) in saying that, although you have no knowledge of complaints against the Sieur de Lamothe, it does not follow that no complaints were made. I believe this, too. However that may be, he intends to justify himself boldly, as you will see from a

⁴⁷ Monseignat's narrative, NYCD, IX, 648-649.

⁴⁸ Frontenac to Louis XIV, October 25, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 308; *idem* to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, *ibidem*, 310; Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1696, *ibidem*, 320. H. Lorin admits that it was "un simple pillage." *Le Comte de Frontenac*, Paris, 1895, 451.

letter addressed to you and from another which he wrote to M. de Pontchartrain, which he is asking me to send you unsealed.⁴⁹

These two autograph letters of Cadillac are undated. One is addressed "my Lord," scl. Pontchartrain, the other "Sir," scl. Lagny.

The opening paragraphs of his letter to Pontchartrain are the source of Monseignat's 1696 report from which we have quoted above. In these paragraphs, Cadillac explains how he won over the two Indian chiefs who led the raid against the Iroquois at the end of 1695. He then goes on to say:

I am beginning to break down under the weight of the continual persecutions which I endure from the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who are stationed in the various posts dependent on this one. I have already sent my complaints several times to M. the Count de Frontenac about their dogmas [!] and their doctrines [!] against me, but whatever expostulation he sends them, or whatever orders he gives them, they have paid no attention and have not become more moderate.

The remoteness [of this post], the influential relations which they have everywhere, their mighty protectors throughout the world enable them to succeed in all their undertakings whether useful or prejudicial to the commonwealth. Anyone who opposes them in this country is made to feel their indignation, and goes to his grave a pauper.

The sale of brandy which the Indians have so earnestly asked for,—the refusal of which brought this colony to the brink of ruin,—is the main reason why these Reverend Fathers direct all their blows against those who feel obliged to tolerate the traffic for the good of the colony.

The propagation of the Faith is the first article of their creed. Their other reasons, pecuniary interests and politics, are hidden in the folds of this ample cloak. According to their maxims, anyone who tries to uncover these reasons becomes the enemy of an indefatigable, undying corporation which is rarely frustrated in its projects.

If perchance something should be alleged against me to your Highness, I beg you not to condemn me before I have given an account of my conduct; or rather, I beg you to listen to the testimony which M. the Count de Frontenac will kindly send you.

I did nothing in this country except in conformity with his instructions, and in spite of everything I have scrupulously carried out his orders and his intentions, which are always beneficial and advantageous to the service of the king and the good of the colony.

In the course of the peace and trade negotiations between our Indians and the Iroquois and English, I promised to sell them brandy if they slaughtered our enemies; and I kept my promise according to the orders which I had received. I am persuaded, my Lord, that you will not bear a grudge against M. the Count de Frontenac for giving me this order, or against me for executing it so opportunely. I was able by this means to retain under the domination of the king all the nations that were thinking of abandoning us. They had been approached by the enemies of the State

⁴⁹ Fontenac to Lagny, October 25, 1696. BN, Clairambault, 874:29-29v.

and Religion and would have been received with open arms. So inopportune a loss would have weakened the strength of the colony and would have increased that of the Iroquois and of the English. Two reasons caused this aberration among these tribes; first, the prohibition against selling them brandy; secondly, the lower price paid for beaver pelts, as I had the honor of explaining to you in my letter of last year.⁵⁰

It is the first reason which causes the complaints of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who maintain that it is an obstacle to the propagation of the Faith. As for myself, I believe it expedient in the present circumstances to have fewer Christians than to have, through our fault, so many enemies on our hands. Besides, the English would have no scruples about giving the Indians as much brandy as they wish, and if the English ever come and trade here, what will become of those missions which have cost his Majesty so much money? In fine, my Lord, this zeal, whether true or apparent, seems to me most inopportune.

Cadillac then refers to a map which he had left in the colonial office when he was in Paris in 1692-1693.⁵¹ He says that he is having another map made of all the Great Lakes, and that he is writing a comprehensive relation of all that he knows about Canada. "I shall have the honor of presenting it to you, if my friends think that I should, when I am in Europe." He ends his letter by asking for a lieutenancy in the navy.⁵²

We have already called attention to the fact that the real cause of the difficulties between the Jesuits and officialdom in New France in general, and Cadillac in particular, was the unrestricted sale of brandy to the Indians. If the Jesuits had countenanced the traffic, and had been willing to remain passive, ignoring the abuses arising from it, we should never have heard of their ambition, their encroachments on the authority of civil power, their lucrative trade, and all the accusations which have been handed down by seventeenth-century pamphleteers and repeated *ad nauseam* by modern littérateurs, "impartial" historians, and immature dissertation writers.

Cadillac knew that the Jesuits were opposed to him because he

⁵⁰ These two reasons are mentioned by Monseignat in his account of the events of 1694-1695, NYCD, IX, 632, and by La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, IV, 78-79. The latter adds that the second reason was alleged by the Hurons only. This, he wrote, could easily have been remedied, but there was no appearance that the sale of brandy would ever be allowed, as it was the cause of too many disorders, of too many crimes. "It was more glorious for the Count de Frontenac, and at the same time more advantageous for the propagation of the Faith to run the risk of losing a few of our allied nations rather than tolerate such disorders." From Frontenac's own letters we know that the governor's attitude was the exact opposite.

⁵¹ The map was drawn by Franquelin. Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 45, 68.

⁵² Cadillac to [Pontchartrain], BN, Clairambault, 882:145-146.

had renewed and fostered the brandy traffic on a large scale. There is a notable difference, we may observe, between what he wrote this year to Pontchartrain and what he had written to Lagny in 1695 about the effect of brandy on the conversion of the Indians. To Pontchartrain he virtually admits that hard liquor is an obstacle to conversion, but adds that he, in contradistinction to the missionaries, thought it better to have fewer converts and more allies. It is somewhat strange that one who boasted of being an expert on Indian affairs should have ignored the fact that the best allies the French ever had in America were the Indian converts.

If the commandant knew that brandy was detrimental to the propagation of the Faith among the Indians, the missionaries knew it much better than he did. When they saw the work of a life time jeopardized in a few months by the brandy traffic, it is not surprising that they did all in their power to prevent its continuance. As Carheil wrote, it was useless for the missionaries to stay if the unrestricted sale of hard liquor was tolerated or abetted.⁵³ If brandy was the only means of keeping the Indians allied to the French, then the Jesuits had better leave, and let the far-seeing colonial statesmen carry out their much vaunted "*politique indigène*," which chiefly consisted in selling brandy to the Indians. There were other mission fields besides New France, where the work of evangelization would not be impeded by greedy adventurers.

A few words of comment on the second last paragraph of Cadillac's letter to Pontchartrain are in place here. His version differs considerably from that of Monseignat regarding the reward of the Indians who raided the Iroquois in the latter part of 1695. According to Monseignat, only ten *pots* were distributed to two hundred men. According to Cadillac, the selling of brandy was simply resumed, and no mention is made of any restriction. Furthermore the commandant declares that he had promised to sell brandy to the Indians, and that he received an order from Frontenac to keep his promise. As a matter of fact, as soon as the governor heard of the possibility of peace between the Huron-Ottawa and the Iroquois, he dispatched a courier to Cadillac ordering the commandant to "spare neither presents nor intrigues" to prevent the cessation of hostilities between the two groups of Indians.⁵⁴ The courier arrived at Michilimackinac at the beginning of February, 1696, and Cadillac in-

⁵³ Carheil to Champigny, August 30, 1702, JR, 65:190.

⁵⁴ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 308-309.

terpreted Frontenac's message as an order directing him to sell brandy.

In his letter to Lagny, Cadillac also refers to a relation which he intends to write as well as to his return to France "next year."

From the letter which I have the honor of writing to my Lord de Pontchartrain, you will see how I stand with the missionaries of these parts. I should prefer to remain silent this year. I have stated at length to M. the Count de Frontenac what my complaints were. It is for him to provide. I do not doubt that he will give you a hint as to what those complaints are.

The commandant then expatiates on the difficulty of keeping "thirty-two or thirty-three" self-willed Indian tribes from warring against each other. While they are fighting among themselves, they cannot harrass the Iroquois, and trade, too, suffers from their internecine warfare. "As for me, I am so worn out that I have several times asked M. the Count de Frontenac to be relieved. This year again, I am strongly petitioning for a furlough; I venture to hope that he will not refuse it, and that he will be kind enough to ask the Court for leave to go to France." Cadillac trusts that Lagny will make use of his influence to obtain this furlough and to secure for him a naval lieutenantcy. "My sojourn in this country did not make me richer or poorer." The commandant evidently preferred to say nothing about the 27,000 livres of clear profits which he actually sent to France in the following year.

The reward of my exertions consists in having unintentionally drawn upon myself the hatred of M. de Champigny, because I resisted the abuses introduced by the missionaries, abuses that go counter the orders of the king and the customs of the Gallican church. As soon as one lifts a finger against those Fathers, one is sure to get a threshing from M. the intendant. If I had kept silent, or if I had dissembled about what I thought it my duty not to tolerate, I would be better off. M. the Count de Frontenac knows my troubles and my needs. He is giving me proofs of his kindness, but the opposition which he meets from M. de Champigny with regard to my interests prevents him from doing more for me. I hope, however, that having shown too much complacence in the past in this respect, and knowing—as he indubitably does—that all I have accumulated here is much trouble and small profits, he will not fail this coming autumn to remedy the situation in spite of the opposition which he may run into. I have all the more reason for believing that he will help me, since he does me the honor of writing that he is satisfied with my conduct.

After telling how he happened to send Tonti to Hudson Bay, Cadillac then expresses the hope that Frontenac will be successful in his campaign against the Iroquois, and notes that the Indians at Michilimackinac are making canoes in preparation for going to join

the governor.⁵⁵ He then gives a brief account of the raid against the Iroquois, and tells how as a reward he had allowed the resumption of the brandy trade.

Let the sale of brandy be forbidden again, and I can assure you that if there is any intention of restricting the Indians in this matter, they will soon find new ways to renew their relations [with the Iroquois]; and if they are deceived a second time, I do not believe that they will ever trust us again for the rest of their lives. Should this happen, I will manage to console myself, provided I be recalled from this post, which I hope to leave honorably.

I cannot understand why the Court pays any attention to the cackling and complaints of the missionaries of this country. If the people at Court knew and were persuaded of the missionaries' goings-on, they would certainly prevent them from troubling those who seek only the glory of God and of the king, but who, because of an old and deplorable custom, are less believed than the missionaries are. How many idle tales, how many little stories they invent, how many fables they spread far and wide, as though these were the truth regarding the Indians and their progress in religion. Thirteen hundred leagues away from here, all their tales pass for gospel truth. Those who are on the spot blush at the impudence of men who dare to write in such bad faith.⁵⁶

There would be no deception of the Indians in withholding brandy from them, for they themselves had repeatedly asked the French not to bring any brandy to their villages. The real deception lay in taking advantage of their drunkenness to rob them of their possessions. Of course, Cadillac would not want to remain in any post where brandy could not be sold; this was made quite clear during the following year. As the last paragraph is reminiscent of what Cadillac had written in 1695 with regard to the *Jesuit Relations*, it is unnecessary to repeat here what was said above in this connection. We may call attention to the passages where the commandant speaks of himself as the champion of the glory of God, after he had done his best to wreck the western missions. His complaint about less credence being given to his word than to that of the missionaries is almost comic. Perhaps this is an indication of a conscience that was not altogether clear. Still more amusing is the fact that such a complaint comes from a man whose name was soon to become synonymous in New France with disregard for truth. Champigny was not opposed to Cadillac because the latter fought the abuses introduced by the missionaries, but because the commandant had promulgated in the West an ordinance which was at

⁵⁵ See *supra*, note 46.

⁵⁶ Cadillac to [Lagny], BN, Clairambault, 882:137-138v.

variance with that issued by the intendant himself, and because he knew that Cadillac had revived the old abuses and had introduced far worse abuses than had ever existed in the West before his coming. As for the orders of the king, there was only one man at Michilimackinac who contravened them, and that man was Antoine Laumet, *alias* de Lamothe Cadillac. A detailed proof of this last assertion will be given in our next article.

(To be concluded)

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